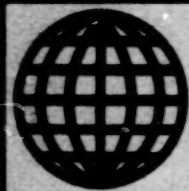


JPRS-UPA-89-001  
6 JANUARY 1988



**FOREIGN  
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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-001

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6 JANUARY 1989

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**Azerbaijan CP CC Responds to Flood of Citizens' Letters**

18300095 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
1 Sep 88 pp i, 3

[Unattributed report: "Attention to Letters and Appeals From the Working People"; first paragraph is BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY introduction. Passages in boldface as published]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Buro has discussed the question of work by the republic's party, soviet and economic agencies in considering the letters, statements and complaints from citizens in light of the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The resolution which was passed notes that the work being done by party, soviet and economic agencies in this area does not conform to the requirements of the restructuring occurring in society, to the tasks raised by the 19th All-Union Party Conference to undertake cardinal measures to ensure the reliable defense of citizens' constitutional rights, and to the fuller satisfaction of the vital interests of the Soviet people.

Many leading officials at republic and local agencies have not changed the conventional, scornful attitude towards the needs and inquiries of the working people and have not developed work to eliminate bureaucratism and indifference in the practice of examining citizens' appeals.

The letters and complaints being received from citizens, many of which express dissatisfaction with the pace of restructuring in a number of republic organizations and justifiable concern with regard to continuing negative phenomena and abuses by officials, attest to this.

The writers of many letters fully support CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's statement at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meeting to the effect that the events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh are the result of serious shortcomings in economic and social development, great negligence in cadre and ideological work, lack of attention to problems in inter-ethnic relations, and gross violations of socialist legality. They ardently approved of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolutions aimed at normalizing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh in the AzSSR, the restoration of good, fraternal relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian populations, and further strengthening of friendship and cooperation among Soviet peoples, based on equal rights.

Study of the letters attests to the growing social activity of the republic's working people, their increasing support of the course of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee towards reinforcing the struggle for restructuring and renovation, the development of

democracy and glasnost, and the strengthening of inter-ethnic traditions which have been infringed upon. The significant increase in appeals to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee from the working people is in many ways explained by the citizens' increasing hopes for the restoration of social justice.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Buro indicated that one of the main reasons for the enormous flow of letters to central and republic agencies is the slow breaking of unsuitable practices of considering appeals from working people in local areas, the underestimation of the sociopolitical significance of this work by some leading officials and the manifestation on their part of callousness and a conventional bureaucratic attitude toward the needs of the people.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee are receiving many justifiable complaints from the working people in Baku and Kirovabad, and in Lenkoranskiy, Sizulinskiy, Agdzhabedinskiy, Masallinskiy, Tauzskiy, Lachinskiy and Agdamskiy rayons. The party committees of these and other areas are not stopping the violations of citizens' legal rights and interests in a timely manner, are not waging an aggressive struggle against bureaucratism, and are sometimes heartless and indifferent to the needs of the working people.

Cases of red tape, formalism and the evasion of considering the working people's requests and suggestions by officials are continuing in the Gosagroprom system and the ministries of health, trade, housing and municipal economy, automotive transport, in other sectors of the republic's economy and in the practical work of soviet agencies.

Many letters contain complaints and critical remarks aimed at the work of law enforcement agencies.

The most urgent and most painful problems remain those of finding work for citizens and improving their housing and everyday living conditions. There are many complaints about the short supply of water, electric energy and food products for the public. Gross violations of the principles of social justice have not been eliminated in housing allocation. However, party committees, soviet and economic agencies are not utilizing the existing possibilities for solving these problems and are handling them from case to case.

Direct responsibility for shortcomings in work with letters and verbal appeals is placed on the republic's Central Committee departments, Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus and Council of Ministers. They are not displaying principle-mindedness and exigency towards leading officials who tolerate red tape and illegality, and are withdrawing from solving the citizens' vitally important problems.



The work by Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments, and republic party, soviet, and economic agencies to implement the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and party resolutions on the attentive and timely consideration of citizens' letters, statements and complaints is deemed unsatisfactory. They have been instructed to take steps to eliminate the observed shortcomings in work with the working people's letters and verbal appeals, to strengthen control over the status of consideration of statements and complaints, and receiving citizens at enterprises and establishments. Exigency must be increased towards leaders of oblast, city, and rayon organizations for the practical solution of the problems which trouble the people.

Party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms should ensure an increase in the level of work with the letters and verbal appeals of the working people, to immediately eliminate the causes and conditions which give rise to the peoples' complaints, to hold officials, who cause repeated appeals to occur, responsible. Cases of callousness in the bureaucracy must be evaluated in a principle-minded fashion. Any attempts to infringe on the legal rights of citizens must cease. The style and methods of work with letters and receiving the working people should be more decisively restructured, and new ways to react to the people's appeals should be actively mastered.

Party committee first secretaries have been forewarned as to their personal responsibility for the state of work with letters and of the receiving of working people, and for ensuring the unswerving fulfillment of the party and state resolutions on these questions.

The leaders of ministries and departments, soviet and social agencies must take cardinal steps to improve work with the working people's letters, to organize the reception of people on personal matters at establishments and enterprises, and to raise the responsibility of their leaders for the effective fulfillment of the requirements of Soviet legislation. All delays and formalism, which create conditions for official abuses and violations, must be eliminated. Citizens should be regularly received directly in labor collectives, and they should be met with systematically in their homes for the resolution of the most urgent problems. Leaders of organizations must increase the effectiveness of using direct telephone communications with citizens for the practical solution of the problems troubling the citizens and for informing the appellants of the steps taken regarding their appeals.

The prosecutor's office, the ministries of internal affairs and justice, and the republic Supreme Court have been instructed to increase the role and responsibility of law enforcement agencies in consolidating the constitutional rights of the working people, eliminating shortcomings in the practice of considering citizens' letters and verbal appeals, improving legal service in the republic, strengthening explanatory work with the masses, and improving the situation with the population's legal education.

Improvement in Central Committee reception work and the extensive involvement of Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee members and candidate members in receiving visitors to the Central Committee and in considering letters and complaints from working people in local areas was stipulated.

The mass information media should improve the form and content of articles and television and radio broadcasts concerning the letters of working people, should strive to make their articles and broadcasts more effective in solving the problems raised by citizens and for increasing the responsibility of enterprise and establishment leaders for the timely and sensitive reaction to the letters and statements received. Television and radio reports from the reception rooms of party and soviet agencies and ministries and departments should be practiced more often. Information on the reception of visitors in local areas and the answers of leading officials to citizens' questions should be published.

#### **AzSSR Officials Meet with Workers, Discuss NKAO, Reforms**

*18300142 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
2 Oct 88 p 2*

[Azerinform report: "The Political Information Day: The Dialogue is On" on Political Information Day in Baku; first 2 paragraphs are a boldface introduction]

[Text] The main themes of the annual Political Information Day held last Friday in Baku were the desire to accelerate the process of renewal and the struggle to solve painful problems of the society and remove all negative phenomena and everything else that hampers perestroika. Meetings at industrial enterprises, engineering firms, research organizations and universities featured speeches by members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party's Central Committee, deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet and party, soviet and economic leaders. Many of them were invited by labor collectives themselves. The meetings were no monologues, as they had often been in the past. Instead, they were mutually beneficial encounters featuring discussions and frank exchange of opinions. The issues ranged widely, from problems related to the upcoming reform of the political system to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's efforts to restructure the economy and improve the moral and psychological climate in the republic. Purely business questions were asked, as well as ones related to the development of the consumer services sector; naturally, people were also concerned about the Nagorny Karabakh situation.

Azerinform correspondents visited a number of collectives and reported on the events of the Political Information Day.

The discussion at the experimental "Neftegazavtomat" plant imeni M.I.Kalinin of the "Neftegazavtomat" research and production complex was spontaneous and intense. Many questions were asked, but the greatest

number of them concerned the development of the enterprise's social sector. These issues had been raised most frequently during reporting and election meetings at shop party organizations.

Therefore, the fact that a number of city and republic party and soviet leaders were invited to the meeting was no accident. Much has been done to improve working and living conditions for the plant's workers: a farm is being established to supply employees, transportation is provided on a regular basis for both shifts and food is served in the evening. Yet, the labor collective is unable to solve some problems, even though it now earns a large profit. These problems include poor water supply in some city districts, delays in road construction to the village of Zyrya, where the enterprise's cooperative garden plots are located, and lack of a medical office at the plant.

When the plant switched to a two-shift schedule, many women started to say that it was time to think about building the plant's own child care facility. Formally such facility does exist, but it is located very far and in a very inconvenient place, so that not a single child is registered there whose parents work at the plant. It would probably be possible to find a space nearer to the plant, said communists, and they themselves could repair it since they would be doing it for themselves and for their own children.

Housing was mentioned as one of the most serious problems.

"Yes, it is nice that we were given nine apartments in a new apartment building in the village of Govsany," said technological engineer V. Manafov. "But it is extremely difficult to commute this great distance to the center of the city every day. It is also difficult to understand why we get housing several kilometers away from our place of employment while next door to our plant apartment buildings are being constructed for enterprises located, paradoxically enough, at the other end of Baku. Could the Baku ispolkom do something to help us?"

"We must get used to the fact that the city is growing," objected plant employee M. Eyvazov. "The fact that we get apartments in residential sections is quite natural. In my opinion, the problem is different: more attention should be paid to improving new neighborhoods, promptly building social, cultural and consumer facilities and actively making them more comfortable.

The pages of the notebooks of Azerbaijan Communist Party Secretary R. Ya. Zeynalov, Baku City Ispolkom Deputy Chairperson A. A. Guseynova and Nasiminskiy Party Raykom First Secretary A. D. Dzhalilov were rapidly getting covered with notes. Finding solutions to many of these problems would require time and would be followed up by the officials.

The next site is the Baku fine fabrics complex. This year, the collective of that enterprise, which until recently had been a laggard, has posted improvements in principal results. The collective's members, who belong to different nationalities, have grown closer in a special way. It is thanks to their efforts that work stoppages at the Karabakh silk complex did not affect the industry as a whole. Everyone felt as part of a common cause. It is natural, therefore, that their first questions were concerned with Nagorniy Karabakh. The events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) and around it received a very direct assessment there: they play into the hands of anti-perestroika forces. Expressing their full support for the efforts to normalize the situation in the NKAO, the meeting's participants stressed that it is important to remain vigilant, not heed rabble rousers' calls, maintain calm and preserve social order.

The complex' employees asked many questions. For instance, they wanted to know how economic reform in the republic is proceeding. Textile workers already felt its results. Thanks to progressive economic management methods, there are fewer consumer complaints and demand for the Baku fine fabrics plant's output has increased, which means higher profits. In just 6 months the enterprise earned R600,000 over plan, which could help solve social problems facing the collective.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's Secretary S. Ch. Kasumova, who came to the meeting, spoke about the implementation of the consumer program in the republic, especially of food and housing programs, and listed reasons for the extremely slow progress on this issue in the Azerbaijan Ministry of Light Industry's system, and in particular at the fine fabrics complex. The housing situation is indeed difficult there. This was stated by chairman of the labor collective's council T. Guseynov, weaver B. Damirova and other participants.

The enterprise has no dormitory, while the former dormitory of the State Committee on Vocational Education, which was transferred to the enterprise several months ago, for one legalistic reason or another is not being used. Textile workers are poorly provided with apartments. Perhaps, they should build their own housing. Maybe they should set up their own construction affiliate or build houses themselves? Such suggestions were voiced at the meeting.

The officials of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry, who took part in the meeting, spoke about ways to promptly fulfill industry employees' demand for housing. One of them is to sign mutually profitable contracts with construction organizations whereby builders, in payment for their work, would get half of the apartments in the new building. Talks are being currently held with representatives of foreign construction firms, in particular with those in the Bulgarian construction industry; they would build an apartment building in payment for products they buy.



A number of other demands and requests were voiced at the meeting; they concerned the need to start a new public transportation route to the complex, to improve lighting and do repairs on streets, etc. All was entrusted to the care of the authorities, including the issue raised by the head of the finishing shop K.Sharifov about the need to increase floor space, the shortage of which is intimately connected with the use of costly equipment. The frank discussion continued for a long time, and went on at the shops and at people's work places.

That day, workers at the Baku knitwear production complex imeni N.Narimanov did not rush home at the end of their shift. Some knitwear workers who worked second shift operated an extra number of knitting machines to enable some of their co-workers to attend the meeting. In the small office of the party committee, which barely accommodated those who wanted to come, representatives of nearly every shop and service of the complex talked to city party and soviet officials who came to the meeting.

Incidentally, crowded conditions and the shortage of floor space are an old problem at the enterprise, which is situated at the center of the city and is surrounded by other buildings. It is not surprising that this issue was among the first ones to be raised at the meeting. The collective offered its own solution: a commercial freezer located nearby is practically empty 9 months out of a year and stores harmful ammonia the rest of the time. It would surely be possible to find a more suitable place for the substance and to use the vacant space more rationally.

Chief repairman M.Liberzon, chairman of the labor collective's council, mentioned one important problem: the enterprise that had celebrated its 60th anniversary a year ago has over 500 labor veterans. Yet, whenever the question of awarding them a "Labor Veteran" medal arises, the infamous quota system comes into play. And what about moral incentives; how can you tell a person that his life-long labor would be rewarded on a first come first served basis?

The problems of the low quality of cotton yarn supplied to the enterprise by the Mingechaurskiy textile complex imeni 50 Anniversary of the VLKSM and of poor environmental situation in Baku were raised by komsomol committee secretary N.Toropova, director of shop No.5 Mamedov, assistant foreman V.Perepelkin and senior foreman of shop No.8 G.Mutallimov.

Perhaps for the first time at that office a veritable debating society gathering took place. The meeting's participants were polite but firm in defending their views. No matter what issue was raised, an exciting discussion invariably ensued. The first experience of a Friday meeting at the enterprise showed that workers are able to conduct a discussion, but this should only be the beginning.

The special orientation of the "Azgidroprovodkhoz" research institute set the topic of the discussion there. The subject was the state of land reclamation and irrigation in Azerbaijan and the reasons for re-salinization of treated soil and for the increase in the level of ground water in Apsheron. The republic's party and economic officials who took part in the discussion explained that all those problems were being seriously studied. One of the proposals was, in particular, to increase agricultural production not by cultivating new lands but re-cultivating old fields repairing existing irrigation systems and purifying the soil. This would save a considerable amount of money for the people's economy.

The problem of drinking water is vital for all Baku residents. It is scarce in this fast-growing city, especially in new residential neighborhoods and on the outskirts. Sometimes service interruptions last several months in a row. People wanted to know what is being done in this area.

Responding to this question, the party officials present at the meeting described measures to resume the construction of the third water main which would improve the situation significantly. At the same time, it is time to seriously think about repairing the existing two water supply lines, the Shollar and Dzheyranbatan lines. Due to their poor condition, 43 percent of water is lost. On top of this, some people have an irresponsible attitude toward water conservation. All this taken together goes a long way toward explaining the existing situation.

The discussions were sharp, frank and intense everywhere. They showed that people see perestroyka as their vital business, and that they are ready to fight for it and do everything to make renewal irreversible.

#### **Kazakh Komsomol First Secretary on Komsomol's Role in Perestroyka**

18300147a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 29 Oct 88 pp 1,3

[Interview with Sergazy Kondybayev, First Secretary of the KaSSR Komsomol Central Committee, by V.Golovanov, in Alma-Ata: "To Be in the Vanguard of the Young People!" under the "Timely Interview" rubric; first paragraph is boldface introduction]

[Text] The Leninist Komsomol has just marked its 70th anniversary. On the eve of the anniversary, our correspondent met with Sergazy Kondybayev, First Secretary of the KaSSR Komsomol Central Committee, and asked him to discuss today's activities of the republic's komsomol and the problems it faces.

[Kondybayev] The republic Komsomol, began S.Kondybaev, sees perestroyka as its vital cause. It could not be otherwise: as the 20th Komomol Congress declared, the fate of perestroyka is the fate of the Motherland and of its young people.



Of course the Komsomol can take pride in its achievements. But there have been many mistakes and miscalculations. These occurred primarily in the area of young people's education. Working with them, we used stereotypical forms and methods that had long outlived their usefulness. Komsomol organizations were literally drowning in formalism. Actually, to be honest, we have not yet got rid of such shortcomings completely. Yet, it should also be noted that first steps in overcoming serious deficiencies have already been made.

The democratization of our society has affected the activity of the republic Komsomol organization. An increasing number of real, not artificial social and workplace programs have been started and Kazakhstan's young men and women are actively joining the effort to carry them out. For instance, together with concerned ministries and organizations, we have approved general programs titled "Participation of Komsomol Organizations in Forming Stable Labor Collectives during the Transition of Enterprises and Organizations to Full Self-Financing", "From Work to College" and others. They define concrete measures and work methods for komsomol committees in all directions.

Early real results have already been achieved. For instance, collective contracts are being signed between young people and enterprise management. Sections on young people in the collective contracts of enterprises have been broadened and made more detailed. At many enterprises, decisions affecting young people are no longer made without consulting the Komsomol committee. Young people's funds are being introduced. The Alma-Ata aviation plant undertook in the collective agreement to provide R500,000 for a young people housing cooperative, R4,000 for workplace socialist competition among young people and R6,000 for the needs of the komsomol organization. A similar fund has been set up at the "Aktyubrentgen" production complex.

The workstyle of the Komsomol Central Committee and local committees is changing. The center is being shifted in grassroot organizations. It is there that the main organizational and educational work with young people is carried out. The success of perestroika depends mainly on the aggressiveness and determination of lower links.

We must reject formalism and stereotypes, as well as the practice of collecting various notes, reports and data from primary organizations. The endless paper flood used to overwhelm gorkoms, raykoms and obkoms. The local situation was studied not by personal contact with Komsomol members and young people but paper reports. It often seemed that everything was in order according to papers while in reality the Komsomol organization was inactive.

Today, we have achieved certain progress. Yet, old attitudes are still felt. A number of Komsomol organizations remain passive. One of the reasons for this is

insufficient activity of members of elected bodies. The Komsomol Central Committee has 147 members, there are 70 to 80 members in each obkom and 40 to 50 in each gorkom and raykom. It is an enormous force.

So far, however, many members of Komsomol committees are only there on paper: they do not have any noticeable impact on the lives of local young people, nor have they become true initiators of ideas or organizers of truly interesting actions. We must seriously think how to tap the initiative and increase the role of elected representatives. Thus far, we have not been uniformly successful in this area: old stereotypes persist. In practice, employees of the apparatus often order elected representatives around. Yet, the apparatus was created to support the work of elected bodies. This is one of the articles of the Komsomol charter.

[Golovanov] To become an active participant in the changes that are under way, the Komsomol itself must change faster. Serious mistakes were made in the patriotic and internationalist education of the young people of the republic. It turned out that Komsomol leaders and active members knew absolutely nothing about young men and women's concerns, ideas and aspirations. Komsomol leaders were actually divorced from young people.

[Kondybayev] I think that I would not make a great discovery by saying that the Komsomol, which initially had been an organization of the young, gradually became, in essence, an organization supervising the young. Komsomol committees did not study various trends and ideas among the masses, ignoring them. In short, the Komsomol and young people each led their own separate existence. This inevitably caused grave distortions in ideology, in particular in patriotic and internationalist education. We must admit that the Komsomol Central Committee and local committees paid practically no attention to internationalist and patriotic education. Words internationalism and patriotism were inserted into speeches as an abstraction. Key implications of international politics were ignored. All this led to negative phenomena.

Komsomol committees are reconsidering their attitude toward young people's international and patriotic education; they have begun to study more seriously the process of nurturing internationalist convictions. The tasks of the republic's Komsomol organizations in internationalist and patriotic education were discussed at the latest plenum of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee. The principle of national and Russian bilingualism is being introduced. The college admissions system is being improved. First specific steps toward building national working class cadres are being undertaken. The main aspects of interaction among the Komsomol organizations of a number of union republics have been defined. Measures to considerably improve military patriotic work have been implemented.

Now I would like to say a few words about overcoming the wall that has arisen in those years between Komsomol workers and young people. How did it occur? For instance, for many years Komsomol cadres were formed based on personal file data. Such questions as whether or not the candidate has organizational skills, loves Komsomol work or can lead young people were not always taken into account. Today the issue stands as follows: the education of young men and women can be entrusted only to enthusiasts who have earned young people's respect.

[Golovanov] In other words, we are talking about selecting Komsomol organizers from among true leaders. This means that before an individual is sent to work at the Komsomol, we should consult young people and find out what they think of the candidate. To select cadres based on democracy and glasnost is one of perestroika's requirements.

[Kondybayev] The point of view of the Komsomol Central Committee is clear: we must let every komsomol organization use its rights in the cadres policy which have been written into the Komsomol charter. The goal here is to fully develop democracy and glasnost. I will use the following figures to support my contention: some 100 obkom, gorkom and raykom secretaries and one out of four primary organization leaders were chosen in a contested election.

Contested elections allow Komsomol organization and active members to exert direct influence on the selection of cadres. This system reduces the danger of an error or an accidental promotion. Also, Komsomol members themselves no longer view elections as an empty formality. In the past, the typical line of reasoning was: "Why worry about it? We'll elect whomever they nominate." Now, young people are starting to feel responsibility for their own position.

Young people are now concerned who becomes their leader. Recently I visited the "Karagandarezino-tekhnik" complex. They were electing a new Komsomol committee secretary. Several candidates were proposed, but Komsomol committee members unanimously chose a young worker A. Sutormin. His candidacy did not come up accidentally. Aleksandr is respected by the labor collective; he is one of those who are considered unofficial leaders.

I will mention one more thing. The number of positions in the Komsomol Central Committee is being cut. This increases the independence of lower links. Also, the formal practice requiring the Komsomol Central Committee and obkoms' approval, in absentia, of new cadres has been terminated.

[Golovanov] The republic's Komsomol started many interesting programs at one time. For instance, in the past, the program "Sheep Farming, the Business of the Young" was famous all over the country, as was reported

in the press a number of times; the practice of taking charge of priority construction projects in Kazakhstan was also implemented on a large scale. Now, we begin to forget about these great deeds. Perhaps it is no accident that the number of young people in sheep farming is dwindling and that Komsomol committees frequently ignore priority construction projects.

[Kondybayev] I am convinced that the seed of formalism in any interesting project is the proverbial "gross participation figures", the percentages mania, the race to increase the number of participants at the expense of quality of participation. This is what happened to the once-famous movement "Sheep Farming, the Business of the Young". In 1971, in Chubartauskiy Rayon, Semipalatinsk Oblast, the first four Komsomol and young people's sheep farming teams were formed. By 1982, there was 1,300 of them. Yet, selection was not based on the volunteer principle and entire classes were sent from high school to the industry. Naturally, the movement's growth rate far outstripped the growth of material and technical support and social infrastructure. These problems have not yet been solved. The result has been that young men and women who get komsomol assignments into sheep farming quit after less than a year. In the 1982-87 period, the number of young sheep farmers in the republic fell by 7,000; some 50 youth entities in the industry fall apart every year.

Today, Komsomol committees' priority has become to create adequate conditions for work, life and leisure of team members. The Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee praised the efforts of the "Yekpin" team at the "Karabulatskiy" sovkhos in Makanchinskiy Rayon, Semipalatinsk Oblast, who introduced full mechanization as well as new forms of labor organization and remuneration.

Today, 793 out of 975 collectives have introduced progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration. These are, of course, modest figures. Yet, in sheep farming there are additional 33,000 young shepherds who work independently of these teams.

An important drag on the development of the industry is its low technological level. Labor mechanization is minimal. Each year, some 100,000 sheep are shorn by hand. Only 8 percent of herds have feeding equipment. In other words, we still have more than enough problems in this industry.

As to the practice of adopting priority construction projects, here indeed shortcomings exist. Sometimes Komsomol assignments are handed out to accidental people, as it occurred at the Ekibastuz thermal energy complex. Labor and living conditions for young people leave much to be desired. Here, I can use as a negative example the situation at the construction site of the Zhayremskiy mining and ore enrichment complex. It

must be admitted that the Komsomol Central Committee is guilty of laxity and local obkoms have been unable to direct their attention to the problems of Komsomol and young people construction projects.

I would like to stress one more point. There are too many various undertakings initiated by Komsomol. Today we have one thing, tomorrow another. We do not think that the undertakings mania is useful. We must weigh concrete benefits of a given activity to the social and economic renewal of the life in the republic.

Today, we do not need words that speak loudly; we need actions that do. The time of Komsomol loud mouths is passing into history. Only a self-critical assessment of our actions and accomplishments could help Komsomol committees and primary organizations to find their place and role in perestroika and to rally young people to struggle for its implementation.

To conclude, I would like to use this opportunity to congratulate all Komsomol veterans and the republic's Komsomol members and young people with this important anniversary and to wish them success in perestroika.

**Kazakh Supreme Soviet Examines Family Issues, Full Utilization of Work Force**  
18300147b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 3

[KazTAG report entitled: "At the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium took place on October 25. The Presidium considered the question of calling the 11th Session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. The resolution to call the session and the list of issues to be reviewed by it will be published in the press.

The Presidium discussed the work of the Alma-Ata soviet of the people's deputies in monitoring the compliance with the legislation on strengthening the family and increasing its responsibility for raising children. A resolution was approved on this subject that will be published in the press.

The meeting also reviewed the work of the Guryev Oblast soviet of the people's deputies to ensure efficient workforce utilization in a period of radical economic reform. It was noted that due to improvements in the personnel structures of rayon, city and oblast management entities and the shift of enterprises and organizations to the new economic system over 11,000 employees lost their jobs and were assigned new ones. In all cities and rayons of the oblast with the exception of Embrinskiy Rayon where there is a need to work several shifts, jobs are filled by local population.

At the same time, many residents of towns Guryev, Shevchenko and Novyy Uzen, as well as of Dengizskiy, Inderskiy and Makhambetskiy rayons, are not working. Efficient labor resources utilization is slowed by the lack of appropriate social and labor conditions. Day care facilities, schools, cafeterias and retail outlets are scarce. For this reason alone, over 27,000 mothers do not participate in the workforce.

The work of promoting cooperatives and individual labor activity is poorly carried out. Progressive forms of family and cooperative contract whereby agricultural plots and industrial buildings and structures are leased are introduced slowly. Oblast soviets and their ispolkoms do not show proper determination in utilizing labor resources and uncovering reserves to create new jobs, training and retaining skilled employees, ensuring full workforce utilization by promoting intensive development of industrial and social infrastructure and applying progressive economic methods.

The Presidium instructed the Guryev Oblast soviet and its ispolkom to implement a set of measures to ensure efficient workforce utilization, taking into account perestroika's requirements.

Based on the report of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet's Permanent Commission on Nationality and Interethnic Issues which had reviewed procedures for identifying, coordinating and holding hearings on specific ethnic problems among nationalities living outside their state and territorial entities or having no such entities, the Presidium passed an appropriate resolution.

Practical questions related to the open discussion of the drafts of the USSR Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and of the USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies were also reviewed. The ispolkoms of oblast and Alma-Ata and Leninsk city soviets were put in charge of organizing locally broad discussions of the above-mentioned drafts and analyzing and summarizing proposals and criticisms of the drafts.

The meeting also discussed the question of holding preliminary hearings in the Plan and Budget Commission and other permanent commissions of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet on the appropriate sections of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the republic's State Budget for 1989. They were asked to prepare and present appropriate materials for discussion by the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Working groups to prepare drafts of various KaSSR laws were established.

Other issues related to the public life in the republic were also discussed.



**TaSSR CP Central Committee Enlists Students'  
Help Against Inertia**

18300126 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 12 Oct p 1

[TadzhikTA report: "Self-Government Is a Requirement of the Present Day: Meeting Between Members and Candidate Members of the TaSSR CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] The sooner we overcome the force of inertia, the faster perestroika will gather speed. And students, the young persons engaged in study, should become a catalyst for this acceleration. The reform of the higher schools which is now being undertaken provides for a great deal of initiative and independence on the part of young persons, who, in the very near future, will be confronted with the tasks of solving important problems in production. Specifically, they are afforded great possibilities for deciding many important questions independently, based on self government and the development of democracy. This was the subject of a discussion at a meeting on 9 October which was held in Dushanbe between the following members and candidate members of the TaSSR CP Central Committee Buro: K.M. Makhkamov, V.V. Vakhidov, A.D. Dadabayev, P.K. Luchinskiy, G.P. Pallayev, A.Kh.Khalimov, R.K. Alimov, and G.V. Koshlakov and the student youth of this republic's capital.

The discussion dealt with the most urgent matter: enormous changes are occurring in the country as a whole and in this republic in particular. The boundaries of glasnost are being extended more widely, democracy is being deepened, and the aroused public life is beginning to seethe. But these processes are scarcely noticeable yet in the republic's secondary specialized educational institutions. More often than not, the transition to student self-government is accorded a kind of pro forma lip service. Although discussions concerning this problem have been going on for several years now, the Komsomol committees of the Tajik State University, the capital city's institutes—of polytechnical, medical, and agricultural sciences, the arts—and other VUZes have been unable to break up the forces of inertia.

Under the new conditions of public production we need bold, independent-minded specialists, capable of actively participating in the changes. Without the habits of self-government and the free exchange of opinions, without a clearly expressed civic-mindedness, today's students will not be involved in the process of perestroika. And this was convincingly affirmed by a documentary film shown to the participants in the meeting; it set the tone for the discussion. Many of this film's heroes—also VUZ students—were likewise unable to answer the following question: "What constitutes self-government and democratization in student life?"

A joint search for the answer to this question was continued at this meeting. It was a dialogue about improving all VUZ life, during the course of which students from various VUZes uttered mutually exclusive assertions. In particular, D. Mukhammadiyeva—a student at the TGMI [Tajik State Medical Institute imeni Abuali ibn Sino]—talked about how the principles of self-government are being implemented in Dormitory No 5. But this was more a story about maintaining order among the students and organizing their leisure time for culture. The remarks made by N. Rakhimova—another student at the TGMI—were characterized by a greater degree of self-criticism: she stated without any beating about the bush that students do not yet know how to apply self-government in practice.

The student youth, as well as its Komsomol and trade-union organizations, have been granted the broadest possible rights to expand their participation in governing higher educational institutions. This meeting showed that the Komsomol committees, just as before, are manifesting a bureaucratic approach; the results of their work are not evident.

Resounding more than once here was the motif of the students own insufficient maturity to solve certain administrative, economic, or financial problems. Here too the rising generation, just as before, places its hopes on help from outside, from above—from deans, rectors, ministers, etc. But do the problems of broken light bulbs or windows require calling in an "uncle" from the outside? If, as is the case in the agricultural institute, the person in charge of the dormitory, the housekeeper, and the maintenance man are students, then it is up to them, and nobody else, to handle such matters. To exercise their own monitoring controls over dormitory repairs is the direct concern of the student councils and Komsomol organizations.

Also resounding here, unfortunately, were some dependent, even parasitical, motifs: a desire to shift the responsibility for the disorder of everyday life onto the administration, and for the lack of knowledgeable skills—onto the teaching staff. On the other hand, there were also some sober and sensible remarks containing some specific proposals. It was emphasized, in particular, that monitoring controls over the students' acquisition of knowledge should be tightened up so that instructors do not keep indifferent students "hanging fire" with a mark of "Three," but instead flunk them out completely. The better students could be granted the right to attend classes voluntarily. This would also compel the others to have a more diligent attitude toward their own studies. And we need to conduct the following experiment: in order to provide incentive for high-quality teaching, the students themselves should select from among several "candidates" the instructor under whom they would study a subject.

Before the meeting began, the film showed not only the inertia and organizational ineptitude of a considerable portion of the student youth. Those who had assembled

here were also presented with visible testimony to the lack of spirituality among many present-day students, the low level of the knowledge being obtained by them and, therefore, the low level of skills of these future specialists. There is too little erudition about the cultural richness of their own people or about the present times of this republic. Unfortunately, the young people virtually avoided discussing this problem at the meeting. But, after all self-government could also be manifested in this sphere: it should be within the scheme of things that the students themselves are concerned about their own spiritual enrichment. They should not wait until someone presents them with a copybook truism, provides them with theater tickets, or puts an interesting book by a contemporary writer into their hands. There can be no good specialist with a higher education who does not possess a sufficient stock of cultural erudition.

The present meeting is becoming a tradition—it is already the third such one. The previous meeting was held in May of last year. So that those attending not gather the impression that the problems which come up year after year are not being solved, K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, reminded the assembled participants what had been spoken about at the previous meeting, and he talked about what measures had been adopted. The results of that discussion became a subject for discussion at the TaSSR CP Central Committee Buro. Measures were approved for implementing the critical remarks and the proposals. For example, many critical remarks at the last meeting were addressed to the leading officials of Goskomizdat, Gostelradio, and the ministries of public education and culture of this republic regarding the shortage of textbooks and classical works of Marxism-Leninism in the Tajik language, the organization of special radio and television broadcasts on the study of Russian and Tajik, the operating schedule of libraries, and the strengthening of the material and technical base at VUZes. Most of these problems have been solved. In particular, the first two volumes of a 10-volume set of

V.I. Lenin's works in Tajik have been published, as well as a textbook on the history of Tajik literature from the 9th through the 12th centuries; and the operating schedule of the State Republic Library imeni Firdousi has been revised.

The educational and material base of the VUZes has been strengthened. An educational-laboratory wing of the Tajik Agricultural Institute has been put into operation, and a new dormitory of the medical institute with space to house 500 or more students has been turned over for use. Students of the Faculties of Law and History of the TGU [Tajik State University] will move into a new wing. VUZes will continue to be furnished with computer equipment.

Of course, many problems have not been solved over this past year. But it should be explained that the most rapid restructuring of higher education is inextricably linked with the pace of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. And this discussion also took place because it is necessary to clearly understand the following point: democracy is not only the right to criticize, but also the right to eliminate shortcomings on your own.

The following persons spoke to the youth group: P.K. Luchinskiy, second secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, G.V. Koshlakov, first deputy chairman of the TaSSR Council of Ministers, R.K. Alimov, first secretary of the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee; also N.Kh. Yakulov, minister of motor transport, T.N. Nagarov, minister of public education, and N.T. Tabarov, minister of culture.

Also taking part in the meeting were the following deputy chairmen of the TaSSR Council of Ministers: D.Kh. Karimov, chairman of TaSSR Gosplan, G.F. Muravyev, chairman of this republic's Gosstroy, together with the leading officials of several ministries and departments, important party, Soviet, and economic officials, leading officials of VUZes, creative unions, mass media and propaganda.

**Goskomizdat Chairman Notes Publishing, Paper Shortage Issues at Press Conference**

18300152a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
23 Nov 88 p 3

[Summary by V. Arsenyev of the press conference given by the chairman of the USSR Goskomizdat M. Nenashev: "Books: Demand And Press Runs"]

[Text] A press conference took place at the USSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade].

Many of the participants remembered well the open discussion here approximately half-a-year ago. This meeting, in addition to the routine introduction of the new books, also allowed us to deeper understand the book publishing programs in the country. The chairman of the USSR Goskomizdat M. Nenashev described them quite fully. These problems are connected both with the critical shortage of paper and those difficulties, which anybody trying to do business in a new way necessary encounters. If, for example, during the subscription campaign to newspapers and magazines we almost gave in to archaic notions of how to find a way out of the emerged situation, in other cases the delusion with the boldness of certain novelties turns out negligible results. Lack of thoughts, sluggishness, or haste are letting us down. N. Nenashev told about his recent meeting with book publishers from the People's Republic of China. The Goskomizdat in China was restored about 2 years ago. The complete freedom of cooperative publishers has led to a commercial environment, and the book market became uncontrollable. It seems, for us it would be more rational to develop a practice of trial publications based on the principle of "at your own expense". Such things are already being done, although with small press runs, that is, from 500 to 3000 copies. And, of course, the Goskomizdat, publishing houses, and book stores should better respond to the reader's demand.

He also told at the press conference about the fact that since 1 Jan 89 it will be possible to subscribe the newspapers and magazines for 1990 without limitations. He told that the list of branch and departmental magazines will be revised. Some of these magazines will be consolidated and approximately 35-40 will be closed. Another piece of news is that a specialized store of KHUDOZHESTVENNAYA LITERATURA is being opened at the Marksistskaya Street in Moscow.

Directors of three publishing houses, namely, G. Andzhaparidze of KHUDOZHESTVENNAYA LITERATURA, V. Vodolagin of MYSL, and V. Adamov of KNIGA, presented new books and serials. The democratization of publishing activities has allowed them to respond to the demand more expediently. The works of writers of the 20's and 30's and memories of that time are already being published in large number of copies. The philosophical works of Nietzsche, Solovyev, Kropotkin, books written by Gumilev, Akhmatova, Andrey

Belyy, and Bukharin's "Sketches" will be published. The policy of reasonable reduction in number of titles is being implemented. It is being thought that 200-300 good books of both known and new authors are better than 1000 simply different books. At the same time, M. Nenashev stressed, the total increase in the press run volume has not changed and remains at the 1987 level. In 1988, we published several million copies of only Bulgakov's works. Total number of copies will exceed 80 million books.

However, as you know, a good book still remains the best present for a book lover because it is difficult to buy one.

**Publishers Hold Roundtable on Anticipated Book Publishing Problems**

18300152b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 44, 2 Nov 88 p 7

[Article by A. Andrianov, manager of LG [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] criticism section: "Book Publishing Concept"; first paragraph is LG introduction]

[Text] The time for new projects and programs has come, indeed. One more concept of the Soviet book publishing, which was described by KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE (No 34, 19 Aug 88), is at the present time being discussed by the "interested parties". One of this discussions took place on 26 Oct 88 at the USSR Goskomizdat with the director of the Book Institute A. Solovyev presiding and participation of scientists, sociologists, and publishers.

The first and main question is natural: in general, do we need such a program? Is not it a creation of the wild fantasy of its authors on the background of cheerless landscapes of the today's publishing business? This is the final answer, which emerged after discussions: a program is needed, but another one. Why? Because the proposed program is saturated with the usual administratively-directive spirit; it tries to slip in a strengthened centralization under the appearance of democratization; it is based on purely quantitative, "distribution" directives; it does not free, but rather stifles the initiative; etc. Of course we are glad of the first attempt, even an unsuccessful one. The "concept" stipulates, for example, the same State order, which, in essence, brings the independence of publishing houses to naught. In the times of searches and risks, certain departments manage to "shape" the freedoms being given in such a way, and to put so many limiting "road signs" that the "driving" itself becomes a problem. We can tell you that the speech of the scientific worker from the Book Institute's section of book sciences (where the concept was created) L. Magazanik created a sensation. He stated that this program can satisfy only the department itself, and that it justifies the stagnation of the existing publishing system. If at least one author of the project says so (the others, unfortunately, were happily absent), then, brothers, what is there to argue about?



The argument did not take place. The roundtable's participants concentrated their attention on the proposals, many of which made good sense. Thus, the rector of the All-Union institute for improving qualifications of the press' workers, P. Reshetov stressed, that first of all, we must assure the legal and constitutional relations between private persons and the authorities involved in book publishing, sales, and distribution. We must create a new system of all-penetrating interest, which would break down the departmental barriers and promote initiative, that is, to change, on principle, not the face of the building but the building itself, namely, the whole policy of book publishing.

There were also other proposals, such as lease contracts, network of cooperative "partners", computerization, sociological studies, public opinion polls, etc. The State order is necessary (textbooks, political books and encyclopedias, etc.) but only for a part of the book business. People spoke about the Goskomizdat's role and place, and about its cumbersome bureaucratic structure. The director of the publishing house SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA V. Novikov called for not to get removed from reality and criticized some unprepared novelties. One of them is publishing at the "authors' expense", which is not supported either by paper supplies or by printing industry. The idea is good, but in practice it often turns out to be a disaster.

There are many problems with prices. The new concept stipulates their increase, since "the relative low book prices under the conditions common to the country deficit of consumers goods lead to an unjustified, and often excessive growth of demand". Here everything is overturned head over heels. The low prices (is it so?) lead to an excessive growth of demand. How about high prices? Will they eliminate the deficit? But how accessible will be the book then? And does not it contradict the course for democratization?

The roundtable's participants were of an unanimous opinion that the project should be considered as a first experience, a reference point, and that other, alternate programs and concepts for the development of book publishing business in our country are necessary. Let them fight one with another. Let them establish themselves in an atmosphere of free discussion at a proper scientific level with the participation of the broad public opinion. Anyway, this is also in the spirit of the time so rich with options.

#### **GUGK Chief on New Soviet Maps with More Declassified Detail**

18300112a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 6

[Interview with V.Yashchenko, Head of the USSR Council of Ministers' Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography by B.Shcherban: "Maps without Secrets" under the "Reporting Details" rubric; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Until recently, such maps were kept under lock and key. Everyone who would have dared to publicize

them could be convicted as an enemy of the people. Now, everyone can use them on a hiking or tourist trip. Declassified was the extra precise map of the 200,000-to-1 scale, the so called two-verts-to-one-inch map. Based on it, the production of tourist maps will begin early next year.

We met with V.Yashchenko, head of the USSR Council of Ministers' Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography.

[Shcherban] Viktor Romanovich, the poor quality of maps produced by your organization has long been legendary. People tell jokes about their lack of precision and accuracy.

[Yashchenko] For many years, our organization was part of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. People started to think of us as an organization with closed doors. We would have gladly provided the needed data but we were working under a strict ban. Naturally, there have always been secrets and some will remain, but not to such an extent.

It has now been possible to remove groundless bans on cartographic information. We have been getting numerous requests from economic managers, hikers and tourists to finally provide precise maps. Consequently, we see our task in making them available to everyone who wants them.

[Shcherban] Could you tell us more specifically which maps will be published in the near future?

[Yashchenko] In 1989, we will publish 249 types of maps. Among them there will be 11 general geographic maps and 184 hiking maps. The following year, we will produce 102 general geographic maps, 26 general hiking maps, 195 hiking trail maps, 32 educational maps and the USSR road atlas, or 457 map types in all.

Now, about new publications. We will publish atlases of GrSSR resorts and Lake Baykal, street maps of Yerevan, Tbilisi, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok, the ArSSR road atlas, hiking maps of the Caucasus and the Azov and Black Sea coast and street maps of Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Tashkent and Tbilisi.

[Shcherban] What new information will now become open?

[Yashchenko] Hiking maps of the scale 50,000 or more to 1 will show all rivers, their underground and disappearing sections, rivers that dry up in summer, shoals, sources, springs, geysers, waterfalls, areas of spring flooding of large rivers and lakes, underwater rocks, fords, glaciers with plateaus and heights clearly marked and with rocks formations, precipices, overpasses, caves and grottos. For hikers' safety maps will show areas of falling rock and avalanches, cracked glaciers, rapids, etc.

The new generation of maps will use the results of satellite photography.

**Selected Uzbek Newspapers to Be Published in Multilingual Editions**

18300112b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
7 Oct 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the UzSSR Communist Party's Central Committee: On Duplicating Certain City and Rayon Newspapers of the Republic in Other Languages"]

[Text] The UzSSR Communist Party's Central Committee discussed the question of publishing some pages of certain city and rayon newspapers of the republic in other languages.

The proposal of the Uzbek Communist Party's Kashka Darya, Namangan, Samarkand, Surkhan-Darya and Fergana obkoms was adopted to publish one page in the following newspapers in the Tajik language:

KOMMUNISTIK MUL-KULCHILIK UCHUN (FOR COMMUNIST PROSPERITY) in Romitanskiy Rayon, SHOFIRKON KHAKIKATI (SHAFIRKAN PRAVDA) in Shafirkanskiy Rayon, LENIN YIULIDAN (ON LENINIST PATH) in Dekhkanabadskiy Rayon, LENINCHI (LENINIST) in Kasansayskiy Rayon, SHARK TONGI (DAWN OF THE EAST) in Samarkandskiy Rayon, OKTYABR ALANGASI (OCTOBER FLAME) of Urgutskiy Rayon, GALABA (VICTORY) in Baysunskiy Rayon, SARIOIYE KHAKIKATI (SARIASIY PRAVDA) of Sariasyskiy Rayon and RISHTON KHAKIKATI (RISHTAN PRAVDA) of Rishtanskiy Rayon.

The Central Committee adopted the proposal of the Tashkent party obkom to duplicate the city of Narimanov's newspaper SUR'AT (TEMPO) in Russian due to the new ethnic structure resulting from the incorporation of the city into Kommunisticheskiy Rayon. It was decided to publish SUR'AT twice weekly on four pages half the size of PRAVDA's, and TEMPO also twice weekly on two pages of the same size.

The UzSSR Ministry of Communications was instructed to make appropriate changes in the 1989 UzSSR newspaper and magazine catalogue and to organize subscription to the publications.

The above-mentioned party obkoms, the UzSSR State Committee on Publishing and newspaper editors were requested to hire additional staffs for rayon editorial offices, within the limits of established monthly salary funds.

The publication of newspapers with bilingual pages should begin when facilities are ready.

The Andizhan, Bukhara, Kashka Darya, Namangan, Samarkand, Surkhan-Darya, Syr-Darya, Tashkent and Fergana party obkoms were asked to consider the possibility of organizing radio transmissions in Tajik, Kazakh and other languages, according to their ethnic makeup, using rayon newspapers' staffs and free-lancers.

The UzSSR State Committee on Publishing should provide for the above-mentioned editorial offices and print shops appropriate material resources and equipment and assist in training workers and professional staffs.

**CPSU CC Official Briefs Uzbek Journalists on New Press Law Concepts**

18300112c Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
20 Oct 88 p 1

[UzTAG report: "Glasnost and Responsibility" on Tashkent press conference by CPSU Central Committee Department Head V.N.Sevruck]

[Text] The broadening of glasnost and affirmation of pluralist principles in the press not only does not remove, but raises to a new, higher level the issue of political responsibility of journalists. The role of the press in perestroika and renewal process in our society was discussed at the press conference by the CPSU Central Committee's Department Head V.N.Sevruck, which took place in Tashkent on October 19. Journalists of the republic's newspapers, magazines, television, radio and publishing houses took part in the meeting organized by the Uzbekistan Journalists Union.

V.N.Sevruck spoke of new steps taken by the CPSU Central Committee to implement political reform in the society. He noted that the party began by reforming itself, its own apparatus. The September Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted important resolutions on the structure of party organizations. Their goal is to restore Lenin's principles of party organization and to make the apparatus more flexible, compact and able to act.

Naturally, the journalists who gathered at the conference hall of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Publishing House were especially interested to hear how the drafting of the press law is proceeding. Answering numerous questions, V.N.Sevruck described the main functions of the document that is being drafted.

The press law should lay legal foundations for establishing and operating mass media entities and define the right to obtain information for publication and the responsibility for providing false information to reporters as well as the responsibility of reporters themselves and the press for publishing false information. The responsibility is not expected to be limited only to work-related, administrative sanctions but to material damages as

well. This means fines for false information, defamation of character, invasion of the privacy of citizens and unfounded accusations against individuals and organizations.

The achievements of the media in the struggle for perestroika are obvious—this was declared from the podium of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. However, we can not close our eyes to errors and excesses in the work of the mass media. Demagoguery and primitive denunciations requiring no profound knowledge of the question on the part of the reporter often take the place of constructive criticism. Those who write in the press often exhibit poor manners in conducting debates, which earns no respect either for the authors themselves nor for the ideas they advocate. Paraphrasing V.I. Lenin, we can say that the period of Red Army-like assaults on stagnation is over. Now, we must learn to manage the economy in a new way and build an efficient economy and a society based on the law. As to the press, the media must become, once again according to Lenin, a means of economic education and rallying the masses.

Many questions were asked during the press conference about applying real accounting to mass media. The current system of remuneration for journalists and their pay scales are behind times and promote senseless equalization. Moreover, the well-being of individual employees as well as organizations as a whole is practically independent of the most important factor, i.e. whether or not the publication is popular. In short, in order to participate actively in social renewal the press itself must be restructured.

#### **Azerbaijani Journalists Union Defines Reporting Trends Under Glasnost**

18300112d Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
11 Sep 88 p 2

[Azerinform report: "The Journalists' Important Tasks" on the Azerbaijani Journalists Union's plenum]

[Text] The tasks of the republic's journalists organizations in light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the August Plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party's Central Committee were discussed at the plenum of the Azerbaijani Journalists Union's management.

Secretary of the Azerbaijani Journalists Union's management G.A. Gadzhiev presented the report.

Speeches were made by the editor of the newspaper INSHAATCHY—BUILDER O.M. Dzhaferov, staff member of the newspaper ADABIYAT VE INDZHESENET Eldar Ibragim, journalist M.G. Mamedov, member of the Azerbaijani State Committee on Television and Radio V.M. Sanani, head of the creative department of the Azerbaijani Journalists Union's management

F.A. Eyvazly, secretary of the primary journalist organization of the newspaper KOMMUNIST K.G. Alekperov and KOMMUNIST deputy editor R.M. Nagiev.

The report and the speeches stressed that journalists must actively implement the decisions of the party conference and apply all their efforts and creative abilities to the task of accelerating the social and economic development of the republic. Today, the reader expects a truthful report on the revolutionary changes under way in the country; he wants to know how perestroika is proceeding locally and which forces stand in its way. The duty of journalists is to summarize perestroika experience and to report objectively on the main trends of development of our society. They must shed a more thorough and clear light on the nature of events arising in the course of the country's renewal, be brave in exposing deficiencies, portray the struggle of the new with the old and conduct a direct, honest and sincere discussion of painful problems on the pages of their publications. It was stressed that one of the main tasks of the press, television and radio should be to encourage a business-like attitude and initiative and to promote a new economic way of thinking.

Mentioning negative trends in the development of the republic's economy and consumer sector in recent years, the plenum's participants noted that journalist organizations should play an important role in combatting them. Newspaper and magazine articles and television and radio broadcasts should pay more attention to such social problems as food shortages, housing, health care, ecology, etc. Articles on the republic's enterprises shifting to the new management system should get a conspicuous place in the press and television and radio programming; this subject should be covered competently and in a well-argued manner. Such issues as agricultural production, scientific management of agricultural industries, broadening of the cooperative movement and introduction of lease and family contracts call for in-depth analyses.

The coverage of patriotic and internationalist education issues, especially among young people, was discussed with a particular intensity; it was noted that we must seek new approaches to this important subject and must decisively reject stereotypes and clichés. The speakers noted that we need articles highlighting the true state of interethnic relations at the current stage, publicizing rich internationalist traditions accumulated in the republic and describing the life of representatives of other nationalities living in Azerbaijan. The duty of the republic's press and journalists is to help foster and strengthen fraternal ties between the Azeri people and all other nationalities of our country. At the same time, they should encourage a more profound study of the Azeri culture, history and language.

The demands of the period should shape the coverage of such issues as scientific progress, education and international relations.



The plenum relieved R.Ya.Zeynalov of the responsibilities as chairman of the Azerbaijani Journalists Union's management. G.A.Gadzhiev, former secretary of the Azerbaijani Journalists Union's management, was

elected chairman of the Azerbaijani Journalists Union's management.

The Azerbaijani Communist Party's Central Committee Secretary R.Ya.Zeynalov also spoke at the plenum.

**All-Union Conference on Nationality Authors  
Who Write in Russian**

18300134 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in  
Russian 18 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by R. Bazarov: "A Frank Discussion"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] In Ashkhabad, an all-union conference, at which the creative work of the republic's writers who write in the Russian language was analyzed, has come to an end.

For the first time, the board of the USSR Union of Writers has decided that the time has come to seriously turn attention to authors who live in the republics and write in Russian.

"In fact, today, in the time of glasnost, we are better acquainted with the work of emigre Russian writers than we are with those who live in the national republics," said Turkmen SSR Writers Union board chairman A. Agabayev when opening the meeting of writers from Moscow and Turkmenistan in the conference hall at the Turkmen SSR state library imeni K. Marx. "And this is why the USSR Union of Writers has planned an action such as this—a writers' "raid," which is being conducted simultaneously in Ashkhabad, Frunze, and Dushanbe and the results of which will be summed up in Tashkent."

"We ascribe such great importance to this conference," USSR Union of Writers secretary, Yu. I. Surovtsev, told the hall, "for two reasons. First: The standards of relationships between nationalities are not only an inter-republic problem, but also an intra-republic one. For a long time, no attention was paid to this. There have been slogans proclaiming that everything is fine, that there is no need for concern. But life has shown that this is not so. We are even seeing serious conflict situations, for instance, in Nagorniy Karabakh. The principled way of solving this problem is clear: maximum attention to the needs which exist in the social, economic and cultural areas, that is, in all areas of life. There must be a corrected coefficient for inter-nationality relationships, including in culture and in literature as well, as has been clearly stated in the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

"In all the republics there are people who are writing in the Russian language—authors of the most varied nationalities. And such a literature is a unique phenomenon which has developed on socialist soil. It is both a part of a common Russian literature and, at the same time, also a part of the literature of Turkmenistan, Estonia or Uzbekistan, the Ukraine. For instance, V. Rybin is not simply a Russian writer. He has absorbed the pain and joy of his Turkmen landmen, he expresses their interests. This is a new factor for literature. Such a literature has accumulated a good deal of experience for itself and this is the second reason that inspires us to gather here.

"Writers who write in the Russian language in the various national republics have much in common, but they also have their differences, their own traditions, their experiences. It is important for us not to lose the good name, the heritage of those who worked here earlier—of Georgiy Veselkov, of Aleksandr Aborskiy. It is also important to study the creative work of those who are working today, also including non-Russian authors who are writing in Russian. Up until now, not enough attention has been given to their creative work. Some of them have been published in Moscow, and more than once, some never; some have been reviewed in the center, some have not even been mentioned. And so we also want to join in a discussion of the vital problems and about the creative work of our colleagues. Within our group, there are critics, linguists, writers of prose, and poets. We have not come to teach, but to express our opinion about the books we have read, to carry on a concrete discussion of your and our common problems and of ways for their solution."

"G. Veselkov and A. Aborskiy, have in their time done a great deal both in working with young people and in translation work," said the editor of the journal "Ashkhabad", V. Pu, in a talk during the discussion. "Today, we are talking with alarm about the state of Russian-language literature—it is surrendering its positions. The poetry of Yu. Ryabinin, of S. Pimenova, of E. Sklyar was superior but, indeed, the creative work of present poets, excepting V. Zubartev, an extra-ordinary writer, has not become well known. Save that M. Shalayev stands out from the ranks of the poets because of his voice."

V. Pu raised questions concerning the insufficient study of Turkmen literature in the schools, about the poor instruction of the Russian and Turkmen languages, of the weaknesses of school history texts, and about what writers could do to improve the situation.

Docent at the literary institute imeni A. M. Gorkiy, N. Bukhantsov analyzed V. Pu's collection "The Rapids" ["Stremnina"] where, in his opinion, there are good pages, where critical problems are touched upon, but where a sense of mission and informativeness reduce the impression. That same informativeness often plays an unkind role even in the best works of V. Rybin and R. Esenov. The prose of R. Esenov is sometimes for the most part publicistic and sometimes his sense of the artistic word betrays him (the stories "Erosion" ["Eroziya"], "There is on the Earth You" [Yest na svete ty]).

Speaking about the prose of V. Shatalov, N. Bukhantsov noted the inexpressiveness of his language, his indifference toward the word. Here the journalist has obviously reigned over the writer.

R. Esenov raised serious problems in his address. He referred to the unfailing efforts of some of our neighbors to make the great writers of the East "their own," ones who belong to all the turko-speaking peoples. The writer

proposes that we also examine the question of the basmachi. There were indeed more than a few violent enemies of Soviet power, foreign agents, among the ringleaders of this movement. But within its ranks there were also thousands of unjustly resented poor and middle peasants, dispossessed kulaks, who did not receive protection from the authorities at that time and were badly treated by the Basmachs. Both historians and writers should deal with all this.

The critics I. Pisarev and P. Ulyashov and the poet O. Khlebnikov analyzed the creative work of the poets V. Zubarev and M. Karpenko, taking note both of their successes and of their obvious failures. A capable man, they stressed, M. Karpenko is very much aware of his own weak points, but he is published. In some of his lines there is evident intellectual provincialism.

It is necessary to involve Russian-language writers more frequently in large-scale initiatives conducted by the USSR Union of Writers, as they often find themselves left out of the all-union literary picture. Many participants in the discussion noted that, had it not been for this meeting, they would not have discovered for themselves the very interesting poet V. Zubarev, whose creative work is almost unknown to the all-union reader.

Ye. Yegorova from Nebit-Dag spoke about the difficult problems of amateur poets and performers of their own verses and songs. T. Kurbanova discussed the creative work of the young—of A. Shirova and others. This same theme was at the center of a talk by M. Nobatova.

The Moscow critics devoted a great deal of attention to the creative work of well-known authors, ones that have published dozens of books. But they did not say a word about the young ones, for whom it would have been far more important to learn their opinion. Some fledgling authors were not even invited to the conference.

Having acquainted themselves with the works of the republic's best known writers, V. Rybin and R. Esenov, the guests subjected them to severe, exacting critical evaluation.

Many good words have been said in recent years about the historical novels of V. Rybin. And at this meeting they were spoken of as being an important contribution to the development of the literary process. It was emphasized that the services of Rybin are beyond doubt, especially in the study of Russian-Turkmen ties. Note was made of his abundance of heroes—no fewer, incidentally, than in L. Tolstoy's "War and Peace," of his ability to create complex characters (for example, the extremely complicated, contradictory General Skobelev), of his successful handling of the intimate lines in his novels, of his masterly description of old Ashkhabad—one wants to walk through its streets, there are so many authentic details in his description of them.

But, along with this, his novels bear the stamp of time, of being created when it was accepted to describe all of "our" positive heroes as courageous, decisive, resourceful, and handsome, and to make all negative characters not very clever, evil, awkward, etc. Yu. Paporov noted that the portrayals of Englishmen in V. Rybin's novels are to a certain degree caricatures, that some episodes are resolved in a simplified fashion, and that the author has not avoided clichés.

Along with curiously sketched characters, said P. Ulyanov, many characters are described superficially, the love line is sometimes simply "animated" and, if the intimate parts are frequently described well, then historical events are sometimes over-simplified. It sometimes happens that facts overwhelm an author, prevent him from thinking as a novelist. In the opinion of the critics, the historical-revolutionary novel, in general, is today going through a genre crisis. It is necessary to create psychological novels, and not simply historical-revolutionary ones. All literature relating to the civil war should today be reexamined from the angle of the facts which are becoming known now. V. Rybin has accomplished a great deal in popularizing history. But literature is not a fictionalization of local lore but rather of human conduct.

Approximately the same assessment of V. Rybin's novels was also given by Yu.I. Surovtsev, who cited many examples in support of his views, arguing that enemies cannot be described only in black colors and heroes only in rosy ones, that it is necessary to treat the style and speech of heroes more responsibly. An English general, an aristocrat would not speak as he does in the novel, Funtikov could hardly express himself in Odessa jargon, enemies should not be caricatured—they are much more complex.

Speaking after his opponents, V. Rybin thanked them from his heart for their very detailed analysis, which of course will help him in the further perfection of his mastery. "Nobody has ever talked to me like this," the writer said. "For twenty years I have been hearing: 'Well done, well done!'" But, in truth, a great deal could indeed have been done differently and better. Judgement of our books on such a level is long past due."

The guests very carefully analyzed the books of R. Esenov. Having noted their obvious good points, they basically focused on their shortcomings. It is specifically a knowledge of mistakes which helps to avoid them in the future. Analyzing "The Legion of the Doomed" ["Legion Obrechennykh"], Yu. Paporov noted that many of the author's criteria, as in the works of V. Rybin, are not in keeping with the times—this is a heritage of the recent past, when both history and the present day were viewed from a particular angle, clearly a mistaken one. The speaker, carefully analyzed dozens of pages, noting flaws overlooked in editing, confusion in



meanings, and clichés from the 1940's and 1950's which have gotten into the recently published book. History cannot be retouched, said the speaker. It is not a photograph, but a living process.

R. Esenov sometimes writes a chronicle of events while forgetting about his characters, noted the critic P. Ulyashov. Clearly, however, one should not pursue events alone, but should make the effort to reflect.

Examining the publicistic works of R. Esenov, the critic Ye. Sergeyev noted the author's broad knowledge, how well-informed he is. However, some of the author's sketches are more reminiscent of song-singing than of a sharp discussion of pressing problems. But publicists—this is always argument, social criticism, pain. Possibly Esenov's sketches turned out to be without conflict because "those in authority" in your region very much did not like it, any kind of criticism, noted Ye. Sergeyev: In any case, almost everything that I have read in this region is strongly reminiscent of the dictates of socialist realism.

"The weakest aspect of many artistic works is language, and this includes V. Rybin and R. Esenov," said Yu. I. Surovtsev after carefully analyzing the speech of many heroes in their works and finding obvious clumsiness in it.

Critic N. Khodzhaeldyyev, having noted that such talk ought to be more thoroughly prepared, declared that in his view the approach to history in the novels of Yu. Belov, V. Rybin, R. Esenov, and B. Kuliyeva is unscientific. True, this serious accusation was not supported by anything.

The poet B. Zhutiyeu spoke out in defense of the Ashkhabaders, who had been subjected to particularly serious criticism, presenting arguments justifying them but not refuting a single specific observation. Indeed, when a reader takes a book in his hands, it is all the same whether this is the first experience of the author or not; what he's looking for is an encounter with a high-quality work. And his reward should not be an indulgence of imperfections. And the detailed and businesslike analysis carried out by the guests will be of greater benefit to the authors than other unctuous "reviews", although it is painful to listen to critical remarks.

The deputy chairman of the council for essays and social and political journalism of the USSR Union of Writers, V. Kazakov, gave an overview of the work of the publicists. He noted that, within the republic, as in the country as a whole, there are very few who are seriously engaged in this difficult genre; more often it is being written by poets, writers of prose and dramatists as a sideline. V. Kazakov made note of the works of At. Karayev, A. Polyakovskiy, and certain others, and said that, alas, social and political writing contains no new discoveries, that there is nothing here that will surprise

you. But, indeed, a great many questions await resolution. In his address, T. Dzhumageldyyev continued this theme, repeating that we are passing many problems by.

S. Treskova, D. Nuraliyev, S. Urayev, K. Kurbanmuradov, and T. Glebova talked about important problems of translation, language, and the development of criticism. All agreed that there had not been such a discussion for a long time and that it is worth inviting intelligent, talented critics to engage in "patronage work."

Summing up the results, Yu. I. Surovtsev noted that the first part of this "raid" had been successful and that the discussion had raised many important questions on various planes. Problems exist which nobody but those present can solve. And the time has come to raise the level of the demands which we place on our own creativity and not to be offended by criticism, but rather to regard this as the friendly analysis of colleagues, although it is not always pleasant.

Following the three-day discussion the guests and representatives of the Ashkhabad writers flew to Tashkent in order to continue this important discussion. Taking part in the work of the meeting was Turkmen CP Central Committee secretary Kh. D. Durdyev.

**Jewish Culture Society Created in Moscow**  
*18300138 Moscow VECHERNAYA MOSKVA in Russian 29 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by K. Yurov, R. Anatolyev: "An Invitation from 'Shalom', A Jewish Culture Society Is Created in Moscow"]

[Text] In our multinational city of Moscow there already is an association of admirers of Ukrainian culture "Slavutich". The cultural center of Georgia on the Arbat is becoming increasingly popular. The Armenian-Russian association "Yusipayl" has started working. As the press has already reported, the cultural center named in honor of S. Mikhoehls is being created—attached to the Jewish Chamber Music Theater.

And yesterday a Jewish culture society was established in the capital. The Moscow Jewish theater "Shalom" was the sponsor and founder of the society.

The idea to somehow unite people, who love Jewish literature and art and the Yiddish and Hebrew languages, or who are striving to master those languages and to know the history of this people, or those who desire simply to socialize a little more often—to talk, to dance, and to listen to national music,—such an idea was expressed by many representatives of Jewish society.

And we,—A. Levenbuk, the chief producer of the "Shalom" theater, related to the "VM" correspondent—having obtained these agreeable premises on the Varshavskiy Highway, did not want to be selfish people. After all there is a good base there for the work of study groups and sections and creative groups.

The theater, which was established quite recently, is preparing to open its first season in a week. People having identical ideas have already made their presence known among the collective of friends. And it was precisely these people who became the sponsors of organizing the Jewish cultural society.

Many activities are planned for the cultural society. For example, organizing study groups and sections—linguistic, historical, young peoples, athletic, etc. Holding "round table" lectures, discussions, and debates and hosting receptions for scientists, artists, writers, and public and political figures. The establishment of a video salon and library is also planned. One will be able to drop in here and read books written by Jewish writers and attend parties dedicated to prominent people in Jewish culture and history.

At the meeting of the founders' group many members had a fantasy: they discussed the creation of a young Jewish writers' club and a cafe with national cuisine and the regular holding of photographic and artistic exhibits, the organizing of musical and literature recitals and a kind of interesting circle of friends club, the creation of an amateur theater and a historical literature museum, how to honor the memory of Jews who were heroes of the revolution, civil war, and the Great Patriotic War and the memory of the victims of the genocide carried out by the Hitlerites. It was decided that in the future it would even be possible to start publishing a special bulletin.

The founders' meeting was stormy. The society's draft charter, which was proposed by the founders' group, was discussed energetically and even with partiality. It was correctly noted: there were as many different opinions as there were people at the meeting. And there was even a moment when it seemed like the logomachy would ruin the project and there would be no society.

—Why isn't someone from the new permanent committee of the Moscow council on relations between the nationalities present?—inquired one of the participants in the meeting.—Nothing will come of this without them.

—Are we empowered, simply because we have gathered ourselves together, to immediately create a society?—another person asked doubtfully.

—Let's reproduce the draft charter and distribute it to everyone who desires a copy—let them study it. And then, after a certain period of time, we will get together again,—a third person suggested.

—Yes, and have these people gathered here in order to lead the society?—the skeptics added fuel to the fire.

But sensible voices were also heard: they said, one can argue endlessly about various points in the charter and a mass of other issues and, thus, lose a real opportunity to begin working as early as today, at the latest—tomorrow. And the primary thing, after all, is work, actual deeds.

And the charter was adopted.

The society's council was elected yesterday, although with arguments, long-winded assessments by the candidates, and subjective flaws in their statements. The producer A. Levenbuk and deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and recipient of a merit pension L. Shapiro, writers Ye. Beyder and A. Vayner, professor-medical doctors V. Lemenev and V. Kukis, candidate of psychological sciences R. Spektor and documentary film producer B. Sheynin, journalists L. Bashkirov, M. Krupkin and Yu. Pelekhova, and the chairman of the religious society of the Moscow Choral Synagogue B. Gramm were elected to the council. A total of 23 people were elected to the council.

As the meeting illustrated, there are many people, who were not elected to the council, but who are prepared to assume energetic work on behalf of the society,—for example, the director of the "Shalom" theater I. Krasilnikov, candidate of historical sciences A. Chlenov, candidate of medical sciences M. Berlyand, programmer A. Ostrovskiy, and the teacher Yu. Linets.

—We have to begin immediately, without putting the matters off,—I. Krasilnikov, the director of the "Shalom" theater stated—the organization of the drama studio, the "Recital" cooperative, to initiate cooperation with cultural foundations and the Children's foundation named after V.I. Lenin. We must think about conducting festivals of Jewish folk music, songs, and dances. Donations from connoisseurs of our national culture will help to make up the required library fund.

And who can become a member of the society? Any citizen regardless of nationality, who displays an interest in Jewish culture and desires to participate in the society's work. Applications may be mailed to Varshavskoye Highway, 71. Telephone numbers for information. 113-27-53 and 110-48-53.

K. Yurov,  
R. Anatolyev.

#### Emigre Writer Voynovich Interviewed in YUNOST

18000157 Moscow YUNOST in Russian Oct 1988  
pp 81-83

[Interview with Vladimir Voynovich, Cologne, Germany, 17 May 1988, interviewer: Benedikt Sarnov: "All Those Years I Lived on Hope"]

[Text] Literary critic Benedikt Sarnov recently went to FRG, where, at the invitation of Cologne University, he lectured on Soviet literature. There he met with Vladimir Voynovich, who has lived in the small German town

of Stockdorf, not far from Munich, for more than 8 years.

Vladimir Voynovich made his debut at the beginning of the 60s with the story "We Live Here," published by Tvardovskiy in NOVYY MIR. This story was well received by readers and critics and the its author soon began to occupy a prominent place in the Soviet literature of that time. The first book was followed by others: the novellas "I Want To Be Honorable" and "Two Comrades," short stories, and the novella "Degree of Trust" (about Veraigner), published in Politizdat in the "Flaming Revolutionaries" series.

But Voynovich's major work was the novel "The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin," which during those years he could not publish in our country. The novel was published in the West. A little while later "Chonkin's" author showed up there, in the West, as well. Soon Voynovich's books will be returned to the Soviet reader. And until that time we offer for your attention a transcript of Benedikt Sarnov's conversation with Vladimir Voynovich.

[Sarnov]. The year before last I was in Czechoslovakia and spoke with an 18-year-old inhabitant of Prague. During our conversation, it became clear that she had no idea what had happened in her homeland in 1968, although during that time the attention of the entire world was riveted on Czechoslovakia. I will not conceal the fact that this seemed incredible to me. But, cooling down a bit, I thought: how could she have known about events of 18 years ago, when she herself has just barely turned 18? Of course, if there had been articles, essays, or books published about those events, it would be another matter. But the print media (evidently, not only ours, but the Czechoslovakian as well) preferred not to touch upon such ticklish subjects during the times of so-called stagnation.

It has been 8 years since you left your homeland. This means that during the time you were a famous Soviet writer, the current readers of YUNOST were not in school yet. It would not be surprising if they knew nothing about you. For this reason, let us begin at the very beginning: how did it happen that the Soviet writer Vladimir Voynovich became an emigre?

[Voynovich] Well, I can call myself an emigre only if you stretch the term. The term emigre is usually used to describe a person who has chosen to resettle in another country. That is not exactly the way it was with me. During the times now called stagnant, measures were taken to force me to live abroad, starting approximately 7 years ago, or, if you count another way 12 years ago.

[Sarnov] I can guess the source of the chronological discrepancy. You, undoubtedly want to say that those unpleasantnesses, to put it delicately, which compelled you to leave began 12 years ago.

[Voynovich] Strictly speaking, they began even earlier. I divide the pressure put on me into two stages. The first lasted from the fall of 1968 to 1974, while I was still a member of the Writers' Union. And the second started in February of 1974, when I was expelled from the Writers' Union and lasted until the end of 1980 when I left the Soviet Union.

[Sarnov] As I already said, our readers are not only unfamiliar with these facts, but it seems to me that they would find it hard to even imagine the way things were in those years. So please be more explicit; what happened during the first stage?

[Voynovich] This is what the first stage was like. In 1968, I landed on the blacklist of the so-called "signatories." This list contained all the writers who had signed letters in defense of one or another individual. At that time, some writers were cautioned, others were reprimanded, and I received a strict reprimand. They stopped printing the works of all the signatories, at least temporarily. And for some reason even more severe measures were taken against me. They not only ceased to print my works, but my earlier works that had been published previously (which at that time amounted to one book and several journal articles) were removed from the libraries. My contracts with several film studios were canceled and my screenplays, those I had already completed and those I was still working on, were banned. I had written two plays based on my own novellas, published previously in NOVYY MIR, "I Want to Be Honorable" and "Two Comrades". These plays were being produced in approximately 50 professional theaters in the Soviet Union and in a countless number of amateur theaters. In Moscow alone, "Two Comrades" was playing to invariably full houses in the Soviet Army Theater and the Theater imeni Mayakovskiy. And "I Want To Be Honorable" was playing in the Theater imeni Stanislavskiy and the Moscow State University Theater. These plays were also banned everywhere.

[Sarnov] What reason was given you for these bans?

[Voynovich] They were explained very simply. They said that the plays were earning a great deal of money and because of my behavior I did not deserve such an income. The directors, actors, and public were given a somewhat different explanation.

[Sarnov] That's interesting; what were they told?

[Voynovich] Different things depending on where they were. In Moscow, for example, the troupe of the Soviet Army Central Theater were told by some lecturer or other that I had been caught smuggling, had taken diamonds abroad. Although I had not gone abroad, and to this day am barely able to recognize a diamond. Further from Moscow, other explanations were given. For example in Novosibirsk the destruction of the "Red Lantern" theater began after a long—two continuation pages—article by Anatoliy Ivanov, "What Is Our Talents



Being Squandered On?" The talents, according to the author, were the actors, while the story "Two Comrades," on which the play was based, was ideologically harmful, antisocialist, and pornographic. (It is interesting how such a story could have passed through the vigilant censorship process we had in those days!) But even greater persecution occurred in Smolensk. There, as they told me, virtually the entire troupe was dispersed; the chief director, the stage manager, and the actors playing the main roles were all fired. I heard that a critic who had praised the production, was finally forced to seek refuge from the wrath of the Smolensk authorities in Kaluga. At least that's where he moved.

[Sarnov] But then, as best I can recall, all these passions quieted down, did they not?

[Voynovich] Yes they did. But that storm had scarcely blown itself out, when another one started. In the 60s I was working on a novel: "The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin." I had a contract for this piece with NOVYY MIR, which had announced the publication of the novel several times, and with Mosfilm film studio, for which I had written a screen play. I had given the first part of the novel to several people to read and, as they said then, it had gone into "samizdat." That is, it was being passed from hand to hand. In 1969, the first part of my unfinished novel somehow found its way to the emigre journal GRAN and was published there; of course, unbeknownst to me. This played right into the hands of my enemies. My plays, which were just beginning to be resurrected here and there, were prohibited again. Even the song "Fourteen Minutes to Launch" for which I wrote the words and O. Feltsman wrote the music began to be played without words. My financial position was terrible, I am not exaggerating. I not only could not feed my family, I could not feed myself. I could not get even the lowliest literary work—not even internal reviews, which during the previous difficult period they sometimes gave me. The then secretary of the Moscow City Commission on Ideology A.P. Shaposhnikov who was very hostile to all art, promised to starve me to death and constantly sent me threatening messages: "Tell Voynovich that we know that he is earning money under assumed names. But we will get him for this too."

[Sarnov] All this, of course, was no fun. But I think that it would have taken more than material hardships to force you to leave, is that not so?

[Voynovich] Of course, but there were more than material hardships. After publication of the first part, a Bacchanalia began in the Writers' Union. For more than a year they kept trying to wear me down by giving me the third degree, complete with bias and threats. They demanded that I repent publicly and confess that I had written not a portion of a novel, but a complete (they needed it to be complete so that they could make a complete accusation) antisoviet, and what was even worse (so said the secretary of the Writers' Union)

antipopulist, novella. I did not confess to this (even now I don't confess to it). I was called in and interviewed by various secretaries, separately (S. Narovchatov, V. Ilyin, L. Karelin, A. Rekemchuk) and all together. They tried to break me sometimes by flattery sometimes by scare tactics, and by laying various traps. Once, for instance, V. Ilyin called me in saying, "Come over, there are a few things we have to talk about." I thought he meant that I would talk to him alone, as had happened previously, but when I got there, there were a number of people in his office. I thought they just happened to be there, but it turned out that they had all come to work on me, for which of course I was unprepared. They were introduced to me as a commission which had been assigned, so they explained, the task of finding out how and under what circumstances my manuscript had found its way abroad. I asked how this commission was performing its assigned task. In response, I was told by the chairman that by asking questions I was conducting myself too insolently. I was there not to ask questions, but to answer them. Then the chairman said (I quote verbatim): "How the manuscript found its way abroad is not important. To find out the answer to such questions we have a special organization, and it is taking care of this matter. But even if this manuscript had not found its way abroad, but had only been written and lay on the table, even if it had not been written, but simply conceived, I would still ask the authorities to punish the author as severely as possible."

After this, M. Bragin, a member of the "commission," began to interrogate me: "Before now, I never heard anything about Voynovich, and I don't know what else he wrote. But I want to find out..."

And he began to ask me various questions.

When I answered the first question, he said, "That's a lie!"

I warned him and everyone present that I would not tolerate being spoken to in that tone. Bragin first calmed down, but after my answer to the second question, he began to stamp his feet and shout, "That's a lie! A bare-faced lie."

And that's when I left, slamming (literally) the door.

In the meeting protocol it said, "Voynovich artificially created a conflict situation and took advantage of it to leave. Only the absence of a quorum prevented the secretariat from expelling Voynovich from the Writers' Union."

By the way, it was only from the protocol that I learned that this was a meeting of the secretariat.

[Sarnov] Then they didn't expel you that time?

[Voynovich] Not that time, nor at the next meeting of the secretariat. The next meeting was held in December, 1970. Not long before, in November, I had addressed a written protest to the journal GRANI, which was published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. It is true that they published this protest with additions written by V. Ilyin. So then at the next meeting of the secretariat, in light of my protest, they decided to "limit themselves" to a strict reprimand and a last warning. Again my work was referred to as finished, antisoviet, antipopulist and, what is more, a "so-called work of literature."

I have not thought about this for a long time, and now, as I am speaking, I have remembered everything and, as they say, it has all come flooding back and it is difficult to restrain myself. But, so as not to recite my entire biography to you, I will say that this was only the beginning of my troubles. After I was expelled from the Writers' Union (in 1974) my life became simply unbearable. I was deprived of the opportunity to do any work at all, and thus of earning my daily bread. And I, who had supported myself by my own labor since I was 11, was accused of being a parasite. This was the beginning of my being forced out of the country. They hinted to me (sometimes all too eloquently), that I should "get out or things will get even worse." I resisted until 1980, when my position became completely hopeless. But even then I did not emigrate. I went to Germany for a year at the invitation of the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts. And after half a year, by a decree of L. Brezhnev, I was deprived of my Soviet citizenship for "acts incompatible [with Soviet interests]," although I had performed no acts at all. I was too depressed at that time for any activity.

[Sarnov] I understand that leaving your native land for a foreign country, especially when you realize that perhaps you will never be able to return, is a psychological shock of monstrous force. Especially, for a writer. How long did it take you to recover from this shock? I am talking here not so much about having to get used to new conditions of life, as about your literary work.

[Voynovich] I had great difficulty getting used to it. For the first three years I wrote almost nothing, all that time was spent adapting. Then I came to myself and began to write a great deal. During the last 4 years I wrote hundreds of short stories, articles, satirical pieces, two plays ("Tribunal" and "Fictitious Marriage"), and a long novel "Moscow 2042." This is a satirical novel, a warning in novel form of what could happen if today's perestroika does not succeed. However, when I began to write it there wasn't even a whiff of perestroika in the air.

You must remember that I am a satirist. A satirist differs from writers working in other genres by virtue of the fact that he concentrates his attention on the dark sides of life and on negative tendencies. More than anyone else he stresses the problems that exist and even goes to extremes. Without this there can be no satire.

[Sarnov] The question I am going to put to you now can be answered in one word. But because of the special interest we all feel in this topic, I hope that you will not restrict yourself to a short answer. What is your attitude to the changes occurring now in our country?

[Voynovich] Positive and very hopeful. These changes did not come as a complete surprise to me. When I came to the West, I said publicly many times that after Brezhnev and his crew left the scene, the Soviet Union would inevitably undergo serious changes. And now they have begun. I meet many of my countrymen who claim that there are no guarantees of their irreversibility of these changes and that the process now beginning can be stopped at any moment. But I do not believe this. Attempts to stop the process are now being made and will continue to be made, but they will not succeed. There are no guarantees, but the process is already irreversible. However, we do not know what it will lead to. If it is to lead to positive results, maximum use must be made of the creative potential of the entire society. The adherents of perestroika must not sit with their hands folded and must not exclude from the process those who want to facilitate it, but who, like me, have ended up far from home.

I say this not to please others and not to further my own interests. If we speak of the material aspect of things, then I personally am doing quite well here. But I grieve for our country and for our long-suffering people. I am striving for the recovery of Soviet society and I will continue to strive for this for the rest of my life, no matter where I am living.

Perhaps, this is not very modest, but I am confident that my books can and must facilitate this process. The barrier which now stands between my books and Soviet readers is artificial, and, furthermore, is not completely impenetrable. I have proof enough that even now my books are reaching many readers. I will say even more immodestly that I never doubted and do not now doubt that my books sooner or later will be published in the Soviet Union. Otherwise, I would not have written them. But it would be better (and not just for my own vanity), if they were put into "cultural circulation" now, when they can facilitate the process that is going on, and not some time in the future when they would become only one more memorial to a by-gone epoch.

[Sarnov] I think that this will occur not in the distant future, but very soon. Not long ago Eldar Ryzanov announced publicly (in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI) that he is planning to produce a film based on your novel "The Life and Amazing Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin." To the best of my knowledge, the journal YUNOST is planning to publish this novel at the very beginning of next year. I think that you will have no objections to this.

[Voynovich] I will be delighted. First of all, because YUNOST is one of the most popular and beloved Soviet journals. And, in addition, because I started out as a YUNOST author. Exactly 30 years ago, in 1958, YUNOST published some poems of mine. Poems I now realize were rather feeble. But at that time, this was a great joy to me. And I would be delighted if my "Chonkin" were to appear in that same journal, from the pages of which I began my road into literature.

[Sarnov] Many of our writers and critics have frequently expressed the idea that emigration is the end for a man of literature, that a writer cannot create anything of value when he is far from his homeland. Such opinions can still be heard today. For example, not so long ago, the critic Oleg Mikhaylov called his article, anticipating the publication of V. Nabokov's "Luzhin's Defense" in the journal MOSKVA, "Destruction of a Talent." Again, after who knows how many previous attempts, they are trying to persuade us that emigration inevitably condemns the artist to sterility. And yet Khodassevich wrote his best novel "European Night" as an emigre. Funin wrote "The Life of Arsenyev" as an emigre. Not even to mention Nabokov, who was born as a writer only after he had emigrated. What are your views on this problem?

[Voynovich] A writer abroad suffers certain specific difficulties, and I do not mean material ones. I am speaking of the feeling of alienation from his own readers and of the difficult psychological atmosphere. You are made aware of spiteful hopes, coming from one direction, that you are already dying, that you are writing nothing, that you are sitting under the bridge with your hand out. (Let me add in parentheses that not one of my colleagues has ever been reduced to life under the bridge). But even the public here has its doubts.

This ubiquitous point of view, that the writer separated from his homeland must inevitably wither and die, is completely false. This idea is also very prevalent here. In my very first days in the West, I was already being asked, "What have you written here?" When I answered "Nothing," my questioners would shake their heads in sympathy, "That's the way it goes." Then I would add, "But I've only been here for one month (or two or three months)..."

When you are treated like this you feel like an actor who steps out onto the stage and sees the audience begin to yawn, anticipating boredom. Yet this too the writer must overcome.

In general, everything hampers the writer: living conditions which are too bad or too good, poverty and wealth, obscurity and fame. All these are tests which some pass and other do not. Emigration is also a test, which it is difficult, but possible, to pass. In this case, emigration like any other condition of a writer's life can enrich, rather than impoverish his art. Once, still at the beginning of my life in the West, I was asked how I planning

to live alienated from my homeland—the main source of my inspiration. I said, "The main source of my inspiration is my own life and that will be with me until my death. There is a 100

guarantee of that."

Of course, living far from one's homeland, from the conditions one is used to, from one's family and friends is difficult. It is difficult to accept the fact that this separation is forever. And throughout all these years I have lived with the hope that this barrier will be broken. Alas, until now this has been only a hope. But a growing hope.

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### **Tajik Academician Advocates Increased Study of Humanities**

18300081 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Sept 88 p 6

[Article by Mikhammadzhan Shukurov, Academician of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences: "The Wisdom of the Ages"]

[Text] In the old, prerevolutionary Tajik school, the textbooks included such books as Saadi's "Gulistan" (13th century), the *divan*—a collection of the lyrical poems of Khafiz (14th century), a reduced variant of the *divan* of Bedil' (17th-beginning of the 18th century), which, in spite of the fact that they were created several centuries ago, in terms of language and figurative structure are accessible to Tajiks even up to now. By the end of the instruction the abridged *divans* of Navoi and Fizuli came to be included among the textbooks. Through these masterpieces of world literature, outstanding examples of the philosophical lyrical poems and the ethical and didactic genre widely developed in the Orient, the pupils gained access to the high human values and the spiritual experience of times and peoples.

True, the method of teaching in the old school suffered seriously from scholasticism: The pupils were compelled to learn the whole text by heart. But there was also a reverse side to this: Having from childhood remembered a large quantity of choice of fictional text, a person had the opportunity his whole life to gradually understand its essence, and with the growth of his own experience understood increasingly deeply the philosophical content and aesthetic properties.

No, not everyone managed to make use of these possibilities, what is more the secondary and higher school—the *maktab* [mekteb] and *medrese*—had many shortcomings, for which already during the 19th century they were subjected to sharp and just criticism by the great Tajik enlightener Akhmad Donish. . . .



But today, when our historical memory is becoming more sensitive and the understanding of the historical experience of our peoples is acquiring greater significance, in my view, especially important is the fact that the traditional education nevertheless basically was directed toward the strengthening of the spiritual foundations of human existence, the cult of the poetic word, wisdom and reason. This spirituality was based on the mastery of the results of the moral and philosophical quests of the most outstanding representatives of many generations and various peoples. This is first of all. And, secondly, it, this spirituality, presupposed an excellent knowledge of one's native language. And, thirdly, a most important condition of spirituality was multilingualism—a knowledge, as a minimum, of the Arab, Uzbek, and Azeri languages, what is more again based on the outstanding monuments of belles-lettres—the works of Navoi, Fizuli, etc.

Quite recently we had the opportunity of meeting with people who in their time completed or received the old education to one extent or another. In my conversations with them, in the majority of cases, I was surprised by the vividness and the colorful imagery of their speech, their special love for the poetic word, the frequent citing of classical poems, aphorisms, and proverbs, which deepen and adorn the meaning of the most commonplace conversation and the most simple fact of life. I became convinced that fussy quickness is alien to these people, that a serious attitude to life is peculiar to them! They are always capable of sober conclusions!

Those people were more connected with the past, they looked at everything with regard to the past times, they measured everything on the basis of the former stable criteria, which, it is true, frequently prevented them from correctly understanding and assessing the new. Unfortunately, we could not and did not always want to utilize their intellectual potential, to return their mind and insight to the present day and to what is coming.

The construction of the new world has been accompanied by many difficulties and contradictions, whose essence we are only now beginning to realize. And we are becoming increasingly convinced that the main losses which man has suffered during the present stormy century, is the sharp weakening of the spiritual principles, the formation of superficial and imprecise ideas about the goal of human life, the depreciation of such fundamental concepts of existence as justice, goodness, and charity. Sometimes it seems that the very nature of man has changed, that he has lost many of his indigenous qualities.

Already during the first post-revolutionary years, Lenin and the party gave a decisive rebuff to proletkult [proletarian culture]. But the opposition of oneself to the past and the non-adoption of all of its manifestations, a suspicious attitude to the convictions and traditions

developed by the centuries, and the disregard for the historical spiritual experience and eternal universal human values was especially deeply rooted in the republics of Central Asia.

In the Orient, the manuscript book, which rapidly developed the art of calligraphy and highly artistic design, for many centuries was in the possession of the people, at home (especially in the cities and the ancient cultural centers)—it simply entered into existence and daily life. Not by accident, for example, the Tajik people developed abstract thinking, the cult of the written word which had imprinted the wisdom of the ages, generalized the moral experience of generations capable of illuminating the path of life. And suddenly that which had been regarded as sacred was declared to be harmful, was used as fuel, flooded in the river and irrigation ditch, bricked up in a wall, and buried in the cemetery!

The mass destruction, in the 1930's, of ancient manuscript books and old lithographed publications led to spiritual devastation. Only an insignificant part of the invaluable legacy was saved and collected in the libraries of Bukhara, Tashkent and Dushanbe. . . .

Also ruthlessly destroyed were the architectural monuments with which Central Asia was so rich. Of the Bukhara of my childhood, not even half remains now. Enormous funds were wasted for the demolition, under various pretexts, of medrese buildings, mosques, covered markets, tombs, caravan-sheds, etc., but, you see, many of them were works of real art, and all of them were history. . . .

Our firmly-established understanding of spirituality as only a religious idea has reduced to zero the significance of the most important values that have traditionally nourished the human foundations of existence. Right is Rasul Gamzatov, who said: "When in their time they destroyed the mosques, they also destroyed the history, the architecture, and the culture of the people."

Historical nihilism, the inability to encompass the ordinary present life with a broad spiritual view, and the unwillingness to comprehend its problems in correlation with the general laws of existence begin with the school. Today it is already too far from preparing man for a genuinely spiritual life. In 1987 a regular congress of teachers of Tajikistan took place. Through the press, which gave broad illumination to the work of the congress, I became acquainted with its materials. Neither in the main address nor in the speeches was anything substantive said about the contents of instruction, and not once did I encounter the word "spirituality." And you also don't hear it during lessons, in the pedagogical council, or in the Ministry of Education. In any case in Tajikistan this word has not yet crossed over the school threshold!

Knowledge and work habits alone do not make a man a man. We are increasingly becoming convinced of the wisdom of the proverb of the Tajiks: As easy as it is to become a scientist, as hard is it to become a man. The system of education and instruction is built on the opposite understanding: Once a man is born—he is already a man, now it is necessary to make a specialist out of him, a hard worker and patriot, an internationalist, etc. We want to build a house of human existence without a foundation, without his holy of holiest!

Already many people have no doubt that one of the most fruitful ideas today is the increased emphasis on the humanities in education, and this already is producing important results here and there abroad and in our country as well. This idea deserves intent and comprehensive discussion. A deeper emphasis on the humanities in instruction must be viewed as an organic phenomenon of the time: of restructuring and democratization of society and the strengthening of its humanist foundations. Restructuring must in no way be limited by the sphere of economics, planning, administration and management. You see, a genuine renewal has deep spiritual-moral foundations.

But the questions of greater emphasis on the humanities, let us say, at the non-philological faculties, in the technical, agricultural, medical, political and other VUZ's, and in the system of vocational-technical education have not yet become the subject of serious and concrete discussions. True, some VUZ's have begun an independent search for ways of a practical solution. Thus, in the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni N. E. Bauman a Department of Sociology and Humanistic Education has been created. It has been planned to allot hours for a humanities program. Some experience has been accumulated in the Moscow Institute for Power Engineering, the Magnitogorsk Polytekhnikum. . . .

But in the Tajik groups of the non-philological departments of the VUZ's of Tajikistan only 10 hours have been allotted for the native language. We are convinced that it is impossible to regard this as the solution of the problem. There is no possibility to convey even the most general idea of the subject during this meager number of hours. Worth special attention is the experience of fraternal Estonia, where in secondary school they have

reduced the number of hours for mathematics and increased [the hours]. . . for art. In so doing, the knowledge of mathematics has improved!

Absolutely inadequate is the place allotted at the present time in the system of education in Tajikistan to the history of its people: For this, 39 hours are allocated by our general education school, and in the non-historical VUZes—36 hours. And this for 50 centuries, full of instructive lessons of a socio-political and spiritual-cultural character!

Things are even worse with music. The school graduates are simply illiterate. Even in the music schools and colleges of the republic they study only Russian and West European music and do not have any conception of the national. . . .

A program of emphasizing the humanities may be successful if it rejects simple information content and commentary, the vulgar-sociological understanding of literature and art, and the cramming of rules of grammar and orthography. It is called upon to teach to understand art in all of its beauty and nobility, to develop the culture of thinking, imagination and a creative beginning, to make it possible to master the system of the native language and the foundations of the culture of speech, to have access to the eternal universal human spiritual-moral values. Without this, it is impossible to imagine a modern level of education and fruitful practical activity of man.

To conquer the spiritual poverty of modern man is the vital task of our day. The time has come for a broad, comprehensive, and, what is the main thing, honest discussion of the entire complex of painful problems connected with this task of the century, urgent also for the entire world, and for the development of a thoroughly scientific conception. And for the creation of a strong basis for its realization.

Perhaps all of these arguments seem strange to somebody else, at the time when hardly more than ten years remain to the threshold of the new century. In some sense it is strange to me myself. But we will fear to unpleasantly surprise the approaching 21st century—to surprise it with the fact that we will enter it as the kind of people we still are up to now.

**'Private Cabbies' Unite Against Racketeers**  
*18000177 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 p 4*

[Article by V. Matveyev and M. Bykov: "1,000 Irate Men Refuse to Pay Tribute to Racketeers"]

[Text] Long-time residents of the Vnukovo Airport area cannot recall such a crowd of people. By 9 p.m. the huge square was jammed with hundreds of cars. At the center, near the paid-parking area, the crowd was so thick that even members of the Rayon Department of Internal Affairs mobilized to prevent possible disorder could not wedge their way into it. Appearing rather distraught, they looked from the side at a sea of a thousand people. Only the fellows from the special subunit of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs, who stood out from the general mass in white helmets with protective-glass visors, armed with long rubber truncheons, felt relatively at ease.

"What's going on?" we asked of lieutenants representing the subunits.

"The drivers who are 'private cabbies' have gathered," they explained to us. "Here in Vnukovo, a few days ago, they met with a group of extortionists. The drivers were given these conditions: 150 rubles per automobile each month. And today at 11 p.m. is the time set for payment."

Two rather new 'six-seater' automobiles applied the brakes not far from the taxi stand. The doors flew open, and out stepped seven men imposing in appearance. The eighth to step out was a woman. Unhurriedly, they approached the drivers, took a few of them to one side, and offered them "cooperation." The conversation did not last long. After obligingly saying farewell, the racketeers got back in their cars. The business was accomplished.

The radio connecting all points of the city where private taxi-drivers work (stations and airports, for the most part) went into operation, and in an instant the drivers at all the taxi fleet locations and stands in the city were aware of the unbidden guests at "Vnuchka."

Cases of racketeering applied to individuals and collectives are not new in Moscow. Cooperatives involved in public catering and trade suffer especially. Some people are careful to pay tribute or "protection" money; others, who are in the minority, try to resist, operating at a loss and at their own personal risk.

For a long time we kept silent about this situation, which is becoming increasingly widespread in the city. If no complaint is filed with the militia, it is said that there is no racketeering. But then not everyone can find the courage to declare war on the racketeers by giving a written deposition to the organs of internal affairs.

Anyone who catches the attention of the extortionists finds himself a marked man. In a matter of days his home address is figured out, and all family members are threatened.

This was the topic of discussion among the more active members in the group of 'private cabbies' who had gathered at the office of the Vnukovo militia.

"Today they demand 150 rubles—tomorrow they will force us to pay twice that much. Are we going to put up with it?" asked Timur N. from Yaroslavl Station with indignation. "Sure, they make threats, and they know the sore spot—the family. But take a look, men, at how many of us are gathered. Together we have power."

There was a murmur of approval, and the next driver to speak came to the rostrum—Dmitriy L., representing the group from the city air terminal.

"When I was getting ready to come here," he said, "my son slipped a knife into my pocket. Yes, and in the nick of time. This is what things have come to. We are not about to resort to unlawful actions if the militia can guarantee us security. But for the present there is no such guarantee. Am I supposed to look on in silence while, if we do not obey, they put a dent in my car or beat up a friend? Most of us here are former cabbies by trade, and we cannot get used to assembly work..."

In spite of the explosiveness of the situation, the words of the driver from Domodedovo were greeted with applause.

"Look at me, men!" he shouted, dramatically raising his thickly clenched fists above the rostrum. "I came here not to discuss matters but to fight for my family. And in concrete terms is what I propose: If anyone has his car burned or vandalized, let's buy him a new one. At the taxi stands we must post a watch, so that 20 people are there at all times—and not a single crook will come near!"

These speeches were not all delivered in a vacuum. Present at the meeting were representatives of criminal investigation, the battle with misappropriation of Socialist property and speculation, the transport militia, and the local Rayon Office of Internal Affairs. Colonels and majors jotted on sheets of papers in silence, gazing intently into the faces of people as they gave them an opportunity to piece together the evidence gathered, listening to accounts of extortion and indifference on the part of the militia, whose representatives witnessed the conflicts but "washed their hands of them." According to the testimony of the drivers themselves, none of the drivers threatened by the racketeers on the square in front of the airport had showed up. They were frightened. Does not this in itself attest to the seriousness of what happened?



"It's all very well that we meet," said a driver sitting next to me, "but what happens if these monsters sidle up to your car and stop you in some out of the way place? They won't show up at the taxi stand. They'll just slit your throat."

The high point of the meeting came with a report that a person from Kursk Station had found out the whereabouts of one of the racketeers and rushed after him. The general feeling was that if Bokser (a nickname of one of the extortionists) were brought in, there would only be bits and pieces left of him. Meanwhile, outside the windows, the noise of the thousand-fold throng could be heard as before.

**Racketeering....**The people engaged in this base form of enterprise have invented nothing new. They have exploited a ready-made model from the arsenal of organized crime that has been extensively used in countries of the West. People who prefer to live at the expense of others converge whenever there is a whiff of money. And obviously the time has come to provide protection for cooperatives and individual operators. But as MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA earlier stated in an article entitled "Racketeering: Payment Based on Fear," with regard to the persons who extorted money from the Lavash and Uyut cooperatives, no criminal charges were forthcoming. The Criminal Code provides for punishment only in cases where acts of extortion fall under Article 95 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, in which they are cited as follows: "demands to surrender state or social property, or the rights to such property, upon threat of force against a person who is in charge or in care of such property or against persons close to him, or upon threat of disseminating derogatory information about him or persons close to him, or upon threat of destruction of their property."

It may be maintained that the law is obsolete. But strict compliance with it is the duty of investigative organs.

In a response to the newspaper by Yu. Smirnov, deputy procurator of Moscow, it was stated also that no expanded interpretation of the law is permissible. And the racketeers understand this full well.

"Still, the fact is, even among the cooperatives and private operators there are those who have gotten their hands dirty," said Lt Col of Militia Viktor Fedorov, deputy chief of the Moscow Criminal Investigations Department, in commenting on the situation. "They don't turn to us to complain about the extortion. According to existing law, we are authorized to pursue the matter only in case of a written declaration by the victim, including incidents in which the victim has been subjected to verbal threats. But, I repeat, such declarations are extremely rare. Moreover, they contain nothing specific: who, when, under what circumstances, were they threatened or intimidated."

"We understand that the people who have gathered at Vnukovo are anxious for themselves and those close to them. But, believe me, we have the means and power at our disposal to protect those who turn to us officially for help from predatory acts."

"We are aware of the existence of the racketeers. Bokser and Botsman are not make-believe names. These are real people. The sad thing is, we are unable to proceed against them. There is no evidence of criminal activity."

"All the same, Victor Nikolayevich, what sort of specific steps are you in a position to take? It cannot be overlooked that the conflict may escalate into mob rule. The irate cab drivers find themselves at the brink of it."

"At the Vnukovo meeting we reached an agreement to continue discussion. On Friday, 4 November, at the Moscow Criminal Investigations Department, a meeting will be held to which representatives of the private carriers have been invited. We will take appropriate steps."

If one may speak frankly, this is of small consolation for the drivers. Unlawful activity can occur at any moment. On Tuesday night the racketeers did not come to Vnukovo. They were apparently aware of the "demonstration of force" in preparation and were on their guard. As a result there were no undue occurrences, and the truncheons carried by the members of the special subunits were not needed. But on the evening of the day of the meeting to be held at the Moscow Criminal Investigations Department, there was another meeting scheduled to collect collect extortion money at Yaroslavl Station. How everything will end at the area of the three stations is difficult to foretell.

#### Attempt to Frame 'Pamyat' Backfires

##### Defendant Receives Jail Term

18000261a Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "From the Courtroom": "Sentence for a 'Revolutionary Fighter'"]

[Text] Yesterday, in the Vasileostrovskiy Rayon People's Court under the chairmanship of N. V. Semenov and with the participation of people's assessors N. S. Kupriyanova and N. B. Nikitina, in an open court session, the court considered the case of A. M. Norinskiy, who had sent out anonymous letters, including threats in the name of the "revolutionary fighters" of the "Pamyat" patriotic organization."

He was accused of a crime stipulated by Part 2 of Article 206 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The state's accusation was supported by procurator V. S. Svetlichnaya, junior counselor of justice. The defendant was defended by lawyer S. S. Pavlov.

The court sentenced A. M. Norinskiy to one and a half years of incarceration conditionally, with his mandatory involvement in labor at places to be determined by the agencies in charge of executing the sentences.

(A report on the trial will be published.)

**'Pamyat' Cleared of Sending Threats**

18000261b Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 21 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by A. Lisochkin under rubric "From the Courtroom": "Fruitless Efforts of Love: Or, How Citizen A. M. Norinskiy Decided to 'Help' 'Pamyat'"]

[Text] Exactly what is going on in our city? Our head is spinning. It can be said that we live here, but we do not know anything. We say "thank you" to the capital's press organs (IZVESTIYA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI), which can see from afar and illumine the situation for us.

It turns out that our city has become a bulwark of the so-called "'Pamyat' national-patriotic front." There have been ugly rallies by the proponents of that front, chauvinism has been bubbling up, and leaflets with content reminiscent of the "Black Hundred" have been distributed. But that is not all. All these actions of the modern "Black Hundred" are occurring in our city under the protection of highly placed persons. If even the raykom secretary is "categorically against" "Pamyat" rallies, he still cannot do anything. Because there are people who are "categorically for" them. Who are those persons? Do they really exist?...

Failing to receive public support and having highly-placed protection, the chauvinists in "Pamyat" finally let themselves go and began sending to decent people letters with threats of physical reprisal.

One of those letters can be seen by everyone in the latest issue of ZNAMYA (No. 10). Editor G. Ya. Baklanov justifiably did not use an entire page to print a facsimile copy of that frightening and shameful missive: "We will carry out reprisals on you! The revolutionary fighters of the 'Pamyat' patriotic organization. VENGEANCE IS IRREVERSIBLE!" I think that in the text that accompanies it, which was written by a strong writer's hand, one cannot fail to find a response in every heart:

"This letter arrived at the editorial office precisely during those days when the 'Pamyat' society was holding rallies in Leningrad, when the revolutionary fighters of that society had snatched away from a Leningrader the slogan 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' and, in the presence of witnesses to all of this and of the militia that had failed to take any action, tore it up. Italian history teacher Daniela Steila, who had seen the rally, wrote, 'It seemed to me that I was attending a real fascist rally of the 1930's... Most of all, I was struck by the fact that that rally had occurred in the country that had been victorious over fascism.'" And so on.

The writer's conclusion, and his demands, also seem to be profoundly justified:

"...recently a number of editors and a number of public figures and writers have received letters containing threats of reprisal, physical annihilation, etc. It would seem that the time has finally come for our society to learn the causes of this lawlessness by one and the same antisocial elements and to learn specifically who is the person, or who are the persons, 'categorically for.'"

Yes, it would seem that it is truly high time... A brief item in this regard has already been published in Saturday's issue ("Sentence for a 'Revolutionary Fighter'"). The following is an extended report.

"All rise! This court is in session!"

In the courtroom of the Vasileostrovskiy Rayon People's Court, a slight noise arises and immediately abates. Judge N. V. Semenov and People's Assessors N. S. Kupriyanova and N. B. Nikitina take their places. The court begins to consider criminal case No. 89351, accusing A. M. Norinskiy of committing a crime stipulated by Part 2 of Article 206 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Honestly speaking, I do not remember any other case with such a broad accusation having evoked such interest. The courtroom cannot accommodate all those who want to be present. A large number of press organs are represented at the trial, and television workers are photographing the proceedings.

Many glances are turned toward the defendant's seat, where they see a short person, no longer young, with a receding hairline, and with a gray head of hair and a beard. All the letters in the name of the "Pamyat" "revolutionary fighters" (including the one reproduced in ZNAMYA) were written by his hand. The defendant is being defended by lawyer S. S. Pavlov.

The indictment is read. Apparently many of those present in the courtroom are wondering: "Who is this defendant?"

In the court documents he is described briefly: Norinskiy, Arkadiy Mikhaylovich. Year of birth 1937. Resident of Leningrad. Jew. Non-party member. Secondary education. Unmarried. No prior convictions. Military obligation. Order-taker at the Nevskiy Zori Association."

Before the trial began, I had managed to have a three-hour conversation with him in the editorial office, and, naturally, I know more about him. It would seem to be worthwhile to return to that conversation. But, for the time being, I will say that the person sitting on the defendant's seat had lived a rather strange and disorderly life. Even though he did have certain capabilities, he had failed to obtain a serious education. Incidentally, no one is to blame for that. He himself feels that the reason for this was his own laziness. During all these years he had

had a large number of different jobs. He had been a motor mechanic, a boiler-room machinist, and even a seaman. It is impossible to list everything here. Currently he is a motorboat attendant with a salary of 85 rubles.

He should not be called the great-grandson of the homeland. He has repeatedly attracted the attention of the law-enforcement agencies during these years. But there is nothing serious against him. He had never previously been brought to criminal responsibility. He had always got along well with his co-workers. He does not drink or smoke. He is very well-read. He does not miss a single interesting article in the periodical press. Other hobbies of his are books, stamps, and model-building. He loves to be informed about everything that is going, and last summer he did not miss a single rally held by the "informal" organizations. He is religious.

Investigation established that this person, when at home, on the basis of hooliganistic reasons, regularly wrote anonymous letters containing the threat of reprisal, which were sent to the officials of various institutions and organizations, as well as to private individuals. Then he began sending those letters to addressees from various parts of the city.

The indictment pointed out that on 28 and 31 July and on 9 and 14 August, he had written 17 letters with the text that we are already familiar with: "We will carry out reprisals on you!" On 9 August he had also sent a letter to the director's office at the F. E. Dzerzhinskiy Room-Museum with a slightly different text: "Wait for the explosion! The revolutionary fighters of the 'Pamyat' patriotic organization."

In addition, on 31 July and 14, 18, and 19 August, A. M. Norinskiy had sent a number of anonymous letters and postcards to the chief of the investigation department of the KGB Administration. The indictment characterizes them as "cynical and of a nature that debases honor and dignity." I myself would have used another word—I would have called them "idiotic" letters. Essentially speaking, these handwriting exercises do not have any content, and appear to be thoughtless. Although I think that Norinskiy had a definite purpose in sending this series of missives.

In the process of investigation, A. M. Norinskiy at first admitted the hooliganistic and insulting nature of the letters. Then he recanted and even made an official request to discontinue the criminal case against him because his actions lacked any corpus delicti. The request was denied.

Also in the process of investigation, psychiatric court evaluation had been made. According to those findings, A. M. Norinskiy showed signs of being a psychopath, but did not suffer from any mental diseases and should be considered of sound mind.

In the opinion of the Leningrad procurator who carried out the investigation, A. M. Norinskiy had committed malicious hooliganism. The state's accusation is supported by procurator V. S. Svetlichnaya, junior counselor of justice.

I realize that the reader would like very much to read the live dialogue that took place at the court. But it is simply impossible to print it. I sympathize with my colleagues in television who photographed the trial, because it seems to me that it will be unbelievably difficult to edit what was photographed. Because whenever Norinskiy was asked about one thing, he would invariably begin to answer about something else, and any question—even the simplest, most specific one—would be engulfed in his eruption of words that had absolutely nothing to do with the case.

Therefore the court investigation moved ahead at a very slow rate, and the presiding judge was forced to repeat unobtrusively, "Norinskiy, we have already heard that... Norinskiy, speak more concretely... Norinskiy, answer the question..."

In the final analysis the defendant could not avoid explaining the facts. He was forced to confirm the testimony of all the witnesses.

"Yes, I confess... The witness is telling the truth."

Then, in exactly the same way, he confirmed the reliability of practically all the facts stated in the indictment. Yes, all of the letters entered as evidence, without exception, had been written by his hand.

However, Norinskiy categorically refused to recognize his actions as hooliganism. In his words, he had been guided by the most noble intentions, and his action had been dictated by the false declarations and by the anti-semitic bias of the "Pamyat" speakers in Rumyantsevskiy Sad.

"I wanted to give 'Pamyat' a slap in the face... It was an act of self-defense... The drawings of the gallows in the letters are my foolish fantasy... I actually did use improper language, but it was not abusive..."

That, then, is what we might be allowed to call the level of the thought processes and the logic. It was ascertained in passing that all the persons to whom Norinskiy had sent the filthy anonymous letters in order to "encourage them to take actions against 'Pamyat'" are "in their seats" and enjoy his "profound respect." Today they can console themselves with this.

"...Of course it is immoral to trick other people. But this is not hooliganism... I apologize to everyone."

Until the beginning of the trial, there were many doubts about whether it would be possible to maintain the necessary order in the courtroom while it was in



progress. The public who had gathered there, to use literary language, were mixed and unsophisticated. The journalists were outnumbered by representatives of "Pamyat," headed by their leaders. Others present included those figures from the "informal" organizations who can be encountered at every rally or large gathering and who have been playing the role of our city idiots for a long time.

But everything turned out all right. The "Pamyat" leaders for whom this entire story had definitely been a welcome gift, behaved in a very dignified manner. During the recesses they eagerly gave interviews in which they emphasized that the provocational letters in principle could not have come from "Pamyat," since "Pamyat" is against terrorism and violence, as being phenomena that are "not consistent with the spirit of the Russian nation."

There had been only one incident. A citizen who had been sitting among the onlookers suddenly stood up, came down to the front, and ranted and raved about the state security agencies. The presiding judge had to stop the proceedings and the transgressor was removed from the courtroom. This episode caused a stir in the journalist ranks, and the cameras and TV equipment went into action. Subsequently there were no more disturbances in the courtroom.

There was a rather decisive divergence in the points of view of the prosecution and the defense during the proceedings. Procurator V. S. Svetlichnaya accurately characterized A. M. Norinskiy's actions as malicious hooliganism that was distinguished by its impudence and special cynicism, and she recommended to the court that he be given punished in the form of two years of incarceration provisionally. Lawyer S. S. Pavlov, on the other hand, in a longer speech that referred to various documents and legal precedents, attempted to prove that Norinskiy's actions could in no way be characterized as hooliganism, and he demanded that his client be acquitted. His speech did not find any sympathies among those present.

For a rather long time the judge and the people's assessors remained in their chamber. Then the sentence was given. The court had deemed Norinskiy's hooliganism to be proven, rejected the qualification of "special cynicism," but emphasized the "impudence" of its actions, and sentenced him to one and a half years of incarceration provisionally. "To chemistry," as the ordinary citizens say.

The court had studied Norinskiy's specific actions that fall under the appropriate article of the RSFSR Criminal Code. No political evaluations were made here. But the case, as we understand it, is linked with politics. Therefore I would like to return to that conversation with Norinskiy that had occurred before he was tried. On the

one hand, the figure of the procurator will appear more clearly, and, on the other hand, unclear spots will remain in this story. Here are only some brief excerpts from our conversation.

"You state that you wanted to fight 'Pamyat,' but actually you gave them the best present. Didn't you understand at all that your actions were aimed at inciting national enmity, and that they would harm everyone?"

"I understand now that what I did was stupid. But I thought that I would not be caught."

"The letters were written only in your handwriting. You were well aware that they would be collected in a single location. It would inevitably be ascertained that only one person was acting under the guise of the 'revolutionary fighters.' Weren't you afraid that suspicions would arise?"

"'Pamyat' could also have given one person the responsibility of writing those letters. But, I repeat, I did not know that they would determine that I had written them."

"And now let's discuss the logic of your actions. You send out anonymous letters containing threats and practically simultaneously you begin to bombard the investigation department of the KGB Administration with senseless anonymous letters written in the same handwriting. Who were you tricking now? Did you want them to catch you sooner?"

"I saw the chief of the department making a statement on television. I simply decided to play a trick on him. I thought, 'Let him try to catch me—I'm only a small person.... Probably I went too far, I got too cocky.'"

As you can see, the answers do not sound very convincing. Inasmuch as Norinskiy is a Jew, there will probably be people who will consider him to be a "henchman of the Zionists." I asked him that question. This was his answer.

"I acted on my own. I do not have anything to do either with the Zionists or with 'Pamyat.' I do not have any friends or acquaintances."

"Are you a believer?"

"Yes."

"What denomination do you profess?"

"I am Orthodox."

"Philatelists who know you have told me that you regularly pray in church. And you do so devoutly."

"Certain events in my life have turned me toward God. I was baptized. That was long ago. Since then I have been Orthodox."

At that point my conversational partner put his hand inside the collar of his sweater and pulled out a cross he was wearing. Judge for yourself. I've never met an Orthodox Zionist in my life.

The more I spoke to Norinskiy, the more I felt that he had not been "acting on his own," and that people were "playing" him. But who? I do not know. And I would pay a lot to learn. Incidentally, when I told him that, he decisively rejected that proposal, and even became somewhat insulted. But I still have that feeling. Because confused individuals like this often do assume the role of the solitary instigator.

And, finally, one last thing. Neither during the investigation nor in court was the simple question asked: "How many anonymous letters with threats did you write?" To me, that question seems to be an important one. Even before my conversation with Norinskiy I had decided that his letters ought to be at our House of the Press too. I walked up and down the corridors, and found them without any difficulty. The same letters, with the same text, had been received by LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, by VECHERNIY LENINGRAD, and by SMENA. It turned out that Norinskiy had written to House of the Press, to RAVINDaktor, and to URNAListka... True, no one had sent those letters anywhere, inasmuch as the newspaper men's attitude toward the threats was that there were of trivial concern, and toward the writers of anonymous letters, the same.

I gathered all the letters, showed them to Norinskiy, and asked, "How many of these did you write altogether?"

"Forty... I sent four to Moscow: the secretary of the Central Committee, to three editors... I sent the others to addresses in Leningrad."

But this is why the question seemed to me to be important: all the letters with threats from the "revolutionary fighters" in "Pamyat" had been written by Norinskiy's hand. There were simply no others.

Even during the court session the "Norinskiy case" had been characterized as "unprecedented." Nevertheless one can learn lessons from it.

The first lesson, apparently, consists in the fact that any nationalistic manifestations require accurate research and carefully weighed evaluations. There is no need to rush to spread the fire, to sound all the alarms, because at such time it is very easy to find oneself in a ridiculous situation.

I would truly like to calm my colleagues in the capital who were so concerned about the state of affairs in Leningrad. Why are they tortured by what they call the fruitless efforts of love? Yes, in our city of 5 million persons we

have all kinds of people, including Zionists, chauvinists, and nationalists of all kinds. But Leningrad has never been and will never be anyone's "bulwark" in this sense. This is not in the traditions of the city. It is not in Leningrad's nature. But, as for people who have lived through the war, who lived through the blockade, and who know the price of Victory, the friendship of nations, and internationalism, we have a half-million of them! And we do not need anyone's praise of this kind.

If this statement seems to anyone to be too optimistic and too unconvincing, I am ready to quote the opinion of D.D. Vasilyev, the same person who, as long ago as May, received an official warning from USSR Committee for State Security. I happened to hear one of his statements in the walls of Smolnyy [Institute]. He was very angry at Leningrad, at Leningraders, and the city administrators, and he intended to send from Moscow to Dvortsovaya Ploshchad "five trainloads, ten trainloads" of his adherents. One can, of course, recall Khlestakov and the couriers. But I think that, in principle, Vasilyev knew what he was saying.

The assertion that our "mass information media occupy a neutral position" is also, pardon my expression, phony. LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA repeatedly dealt with the problems linked with "Pamyat." I shall mention only two of the main articles that reflected the editorial office's point of view: "Where is 'Pamyat' Calling Us?" (28 August), and "'Pamyat' As It Is" (6 September). Similar articles were published in all the Leningrad newspapers, and the tremendous amount of mail sent to support them, are the best testimony of the moods of the city's inhabitants.

In September we reported that, prior to the receipt of the final conclusions of the procuracy concerning the nature of the actions taken by the 'national patriotic front,' any public actions on its part (rallies, meetings) were banned. Then we informed the readers that the organizers of the rallies in Rumyantsevskiy Sad had been given an official warning by the Leningrad procurator.

I might note, incidentally, that not a single organ of the press in our city rendered either direct or indirect support to "Pamyat," or lowered itself to the point of offering its pages to persons who love to look for "Zionist symbols." This also is a fact.

We probably should not remain silent also about those who are "categorically for." I do not know those persons. But I shall not take it upon myself to assert that they do not exist. The bacillus of nationalism affects not only those who have graduated from the seminary. Because "Pamyat" also has a rather large number of adherents who have had higher education, and who even had been burdened with learned degrees. But it is necessary to speak about those who are "categorically for," citing facts and mentioning names. But if one simply pokes his finger

upward in a very meaningful way, that is equivalent to writing anonymous letters. And the people who act that way are acting in cahoots with the same kind of provocateurs as Norinskiy is.

There have been large changes in the Leningrad "Pamyat." Its leaders have said a lot about them in interviews during the court recesses. So far as one can understand, they decided to set themselves apart from the Moscow "Pamyat," its program, Vasilyev's extremism, and certain other matters, and they sounded this appeal to their adherents.

We shall not make touching statements or rush to conclude that yesterday's "poor" "Pamyat" has today become "good." It seems to me that in its new program it promotes ideas that are not so much national as they are nationalistic. So far there has been no return to the noble ideals that were at one time proclaimed at the creation of "Pamyat." As for what will happen in the future, time will tell.

The reason for this "split" most probably lies not in the statements made in the press or in the procurator's warnings. It is simply, I think, that the leaders of "Pamyat," by their own experience, became convinced that sorties by unbridled chauvinism do not occur in Leningrad.

And they will not occur. Because one of the features of Leningrad's nature is respect for the honor and dignity of a person, irrespective of the nationality to which he belongs.

**Life, Times of Andrey Sakharov Described**  
18000159 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in  
Russian No 46, 16 Nov 88 p 12

[Article by Yuriy Rost under "The Country of the People" rubric: "Academician"]

[Text] Fate—It has even changed a tax collector. While offering us a choice, it already knows the price we will have to pay for the right to have our own opinion about the way the world works.

One has to think... And now, while this process may not always be successful, at least it is not dangerous; and we should consider very carefully those people who have always been thoughtful...

Many of those who were slandered, repressed, and destroyed, "are returning to our system..." That is how we sometimes imagine the process of rehabilitation to be, forgetting that neither the views, nor the thoughts of such people, nor their perceptions of events have been changed, and they have not returned to our system—the system itself is beginning to align itself with those people.

But as before it seems that having restored their good name we are rendering them honor (As if after we had read "Kotlovan" and "Chevengur," Platonov had become a better writer than he had been several years ago. His lines had already been penned, and they had become great literature regardless of whether we understood them or not).

Rehabilitation is the repentance of society before its innocent victims, whom they killed without hearing them out. Repentance, in turn, rehabilitates society. For some, it provides an opportunity to affirm the correctness of determining one's true values; for many, to rethink these values; and for the majority, to give meaning to them.

As I was walking around on the fifth floor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 22 December 1986, I had no idea that in 12 hours I would become witness to an event which would attract the attention of the entire world.

"Well, you of course, will be at the train station tomorrow, won't you?" a fellow worker whispered to me at the elevator.

"But you don't know which station, do you?" I asked, as if I knew all the rest...

"Where else do the trains from Gorkiy go to? To the Yaroslavskiy Station..."

There I would meet neither my relatives, nor my friends, but a solitary individual from Gorkiy, whom I was to meet as a journalist (and not just as a journalist), Academician Andrey Sakharov.

After loading several cartridges with film and putting some magnetic tapes in my pocket, I began to think about how to find out the number of the academician's train.

"Do you mean academician in a high moral sense?" asked my friend, a progressive artist, whom I called to find out what time the train comes. When he heard my "Yes," he bid me good-by with haste—which one could have taken for incivility, having in mind the cultured tradition of his family, but not taking the topic of the conversation into consideration. This was my third fruitless call which frightened my interlocutor. (Today the rapid tones when "conversations not meant for the telephone" came up seem naive to us—we have persistently moved ahead, toward Truth—everyone used to know what they meant, and this understanding has been stored away for any eventuality, for the future.)

There was just one other possibility, the simplest and most normal one—to dial the information number at Yaroslavskiy Vokzal; but I hesitated. I had convinced myself that it would be simpler to drive to the square at three train stations and read the schedule, rather than listen to the mechanical voice say, "Wait for the



answer." But these were traps I had set for myself; for it was not the mechanical voice that I was afraid of and not even the electronic sound... I was afraid of my own fear... And this fear, which had been living in me, just as it lives in many of us almost unnoticed, now crept to the surface.

That fear has become part of our subconscious, and we have not felt the need to overcome it, for we have gotten used to it; we have become afraid, and no longer notice that we were. Having colored our intellectual movement in various hues, fear has transformed us, so that we publicly support all sorts of campaigns and resolutions of the party and the government; we believe in words about our "bright future," and we are convinced of the infallibility of the quotations plucked from the texts of the contemporaries and classicists of Marxism; we are convinced that the ideas are good, but those who carried them out were bad, and that our system (in the 20's and 30's; as in the 40's and 50's...) has always been the most most humane, that the slogan, "Everything in the name of man, for the good of man," does not have in mind the individual person, but everyone. This fear was transformed into "unanimous support," "legitimate pride," "unanimous vote," "the just rebuke of slanderers," "feeling of profound satisfaction," and so on. At times it could flow out in the form of an act of despair (the despair also came from fear), but that did not change matters.

Like a splinter which connecting tissue has healed over it hardly bothered us. Only at rare intervals, when an awkward word is dropped, when one has an unhappy memory, just as with an abrupt movement, the fear makes itself known; and in overcoming the "pain," we suppressed it, either consciously or by reflex, by not taking a part in someone else's fate, nor in our own; in indifference and cynicism; not consenting to a surgical operation—which, by the way, only we ourselves could perform.

O Lord! Is it possible to get rid of it, if it has permeated our bones, our muscles, our speech, our thoughts, our feelings; if we were born under its sway, if it has been both our guide and our protector all our lives; and if we brought up our children to fear, to be obedient, and to conform? Amen.

And now it lay about the telephone like a military embrasure, protecting me; and it took a great effort to place my finger into the hole of the telephone dial. The impersonal "Operator 23," having no suspicion of my suffering, passionlessly informed of three trains, the first of which arrived at 4:00 and the last, at 7:00.

It was a time to think, about what the academician had done to offend me; and about how much truth there was to the statement by a participant in a Moscow-Tokyo telephone link-up, a young and altogether likable chap, who in response to the question, "Why do you have a poor opinion of Andrey Sakharov?" answered: "Because he is an enemy of the Soviet people, and all his activities

have caused our country harm." Incidentally, even if that telephone link-up did take place after the academician had already returned to Moscow, that does not change the essential fact that since 1973 the opinion of the activity of the academician (beyond his problems in physics) had been pounded into our heads, without playing up the information.

Of course 1973 is a long time ago, but the nice young man could have read the complete story:

In KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA of 15 February 1980 (which is somewhat closer to us in time), it is clearly stated in an essay by A. Yefremov and A. Petrov, "Tsezar ne sostoyalsya" [The Caesar Did Not Succeed] that, "The spiritual renegade and provocateur Sakharov, through all of his subversive activities, has long ago placed himself in the position of a traitor to his people and his state."

Or in "LG" (Alas, alas!) of 30 January 1980, an article by V. Borisov, "A Slanderer and a Pharisee" states that, "Andrey Sakharov has for more than ten years abused his nation, and has incited opposition to it... Yes, we have been patient for a long time; too long, I think; hoping that perhaps at last the still small voice of his civic conscience might begin to speak."

Or the book by N. Yakovlev, "TsRU protiv SSSR" [The CIA Versus the USSR], signed to press on 6 May 1985, which states that "He (Sakharov) does not even stand, he lies on an anti-Soviet platform."

And this is the man whom I was preparing to greet at the beginning of my longest night. Forgive my doubts at the telephone, readers.

Incidentally, why doubts? After all, these and dozens of other articles, not even signed with a pseudonym all the time, should have been able to dispel them, having created a single image of the man for everyone, approved by the "authorities."

But, it seems that one cannot shape a single image by force; it takes shape on its own, based on what you find out and what you know.

During the winter of 1970, our famous physicist Petr Leonidovich Kapitsa, who won the Nobel Prize as a result of his work, consented to an interview on the stable plasma which he created at the Nigotron installation. Vladimir Gubarev, the scientific correspondent for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (where I was working then), suggested that I accompany him to see the academician, with whom I was acquainted.

As usual, Kapitsa was affable, brilliantly witty, and subtle. To Gubarev's question, who can comment upon the discovery, Petr Leonidovich replied, "Sakharov," and, laying his arm along the back of the couch, settled back to observe our reaction.

Gubarev reacted to this in an ordinary manner, agreeing with our host that if anyone could estimate the temperature of the plasma which Kapitsa had derived, Sakharov is just the one, and I was amazed at how smart Volodya is at physics. But probably he was familiar with the words of Igor Yevgenyevich Tamm, our great scientist and a Nobel laureate, the teacher of Sakharov:

"In the realm of controlled thermonuclear reactions, A.D. Sakharov not only promoted the fundamental idea of the method on the basis of which one may hope to achieve such reactions, he also conducted extensive theoretical research on the properties of high-temperature plasma, its stability and so on. This guaranteed the success of the corresponding experimental and technical research, which has earned general world recognition."

At half-past three on the morning of 23 December 1986, having driven out onto the Sadovoye Koltso, I crossed the boundary of fear, which no one else but I could have drawn...

But you see, then—16 years ago—Gubarev and I boldly and cheerfully went to the Kurchatovskiy Institute, next to which Sakharov lived, and entered the modestly-appointed apartment, whose occupant had been forewarned by Kapitsa.

The conversation about the physical nature of plasma stepped carefully along the path between the unclassified and the secret. Inasmuch as the word "physical" for me was connected with only the education which I received at the Physical Culture Institute, I did not take part in the conversation and thus had enough time to photograph our interlocutor. Through the telephoto lens I saw the fine face of a person with no distracting background. The man won one's confidence with his soft, ironic speech, with just a trace of the French manner of pronouncing his R's; with his khaki shirt, which had a safety-pin in the place of the top button, which he apparently thought would not be visible behind his necktie; and with his tact.

A small, persistent puppy-dog lay under my feet, growling and chewing on my shoes. Carefully, just enough not to appear impolite, but very decisively, I pushed it away with my foot. Sensing rejection, it turned to Andrey Dmitrievich. After every one of its attacks, he withdrew his feet, not one time insulting its canine dignity with a kick, and not emphasizing his behavior in order not to give his guests any hint of tactlessness with respect to the little dog.

Escorting us out, he detained us at the doorway and quietly said that people were saying a lot of things about him now, but that we should not believe it because it is not all like that.

We did not know what he had in mind, but I trusted him and did not believe that, although for the next 15 years that is all we heard about him, and nothing else.

Thinking about that long-ago visit, I often asked myself why Kapitsa had sent us to Sakharov; at the moment he was separated from his work; and after the publication of his "Thoughts about Progress, Peaceful Co-Existence and Intellectual Freedom." I think that it was not political capriciousness that moved Petr Leonidovich (although one cannot get along without that). Being a well-informed person, he undoubtedly had read "Thoughts" and understood the motives which moved Sakharov to fight for ideas far removed from the problems of physics.

It is possible that Gubarev and I were among the Signs which signified his support for the path chosen by his colleague. A Sign, which marked the beginning of the most difficult period in Sakharov's life.

The fate of these outstanding scientists can, if one wishes, be twined into a dramatic knot.

Kapitsa did not participate in the creation of atomic weapons out of the highest considerations, dictated by his perceptions about the duty of a scientist and a man, believing that the creation of the bomb would lead to serious consequences in the world. For his convictions he was removed from official scientific activity, although he could have been punished even worse.

Sakharov participated, and actively, in the creation of thermonuclear weapons—out of the highest considerations, dictated by his perceptions about the duty of a scientist and a man, believing that the lack of a hydrogen bomb on the part of the Soviet Union while the USA possesses it would lead to serious consequences in the world. It would create the threat of war.

Kapitsa fought for the freedom of the well-known theoretical physicist Lev Landau, who had been arrested—and achieved it, although his action was fraught with danger for himself personally as well.

Sakharov persistently fought for the release from prison of various people (not at all prominent ones), who had found themselves in captivity for expressing their own ideas—which were, perhaps, not so different from the non-expressed ideas of other people.

Without delving more deeply into other (speculative all the same) intertwinings of the two fates, I shall be so bold as to say that the views of these two splendid scientific people on their own role in this world differ significantly: Petr Kapitsa, being a Russian, at the same time sensed that he is a cultured European intellectual and acted with a genuine perception of the bounds of the possible. One of the very few scientists, artists, and actors who did not affix his signature to the anti-Sakharov letter of 1973, which was devoid of objectivity, he nevertheless did not then speak out in his defense; perceiving, apparently, that nothing would result from doing so, and Kapitsa has always respected results. I will not cite the list of names of those who affixed their signature, along with their

title, to it, for it would take up too much space; but you can familiarize yourselves with it in the newspapers of August and September 1973.

I will say, however, that any formulation is a relative thing... In 1980, during Sakharov's hunger strike in exile in Gorkiy, the 86-year-old Kapitsa—I think, without hopes for the result he favored (he knew all too well the situation in which we lived)—out of his singular honesty and sincere concern for the fate of his colleague, first sent a letter to Andropov, and then, a telegram to Brezhnev:

"I am a very old man. Life has taught me that good deeds are never forgotten. Sakharov has a disagreeable nature, but he is a great scientist of our country. Save him."

Andrey Sakharov was and still is a Russian intellectual, with his belief in the idea of a struggle for a just society for the people; even though the people, because of the defamation of his character, have lost the ability to believe in his sincerity and moral purity, and have themselves fought against Sakharov—the man who cares for their freedom.

He can go astray, like any man; and he can be persuaded, if there are sufficient arguments to do so; but his convictions he cannot change.

For this rare, on the whole, good fortune, he has lost a great deal. But there is something which he has lost by virtue of his spiritual nature itself, which every one of us should and, I hope, can lose. He is free of the feeling of constraint. Not one single person has the power in and of himself to free society from the slavery of fear; on the other hand, driving a society into fear is a task within the ability of an individual. Only together can the people become free of fear, but not in a herd, not in a crowd, not in a throng, and not en masse... There is a certain contradiction here: in order to unite in the struggle with fear, it is necessary to "separate," to feel that one is not a part of something, but an independent entity, an individual.

A vital society is one in which there are people who have invested their courage in it, during periods of social and moral decay. There have been many such people, who perished, but who overcame spiritual terror. These, and those who have survived and grown, we have stored up in our hearts, like a genetic fund of free thoughts and high spirit, in order that when the soil is right, there might be some place from which to acquire the seed.

Let us turn around and look back; let us scrutinize the reception queue at the office of gloom. Let us sort out in our memory those who have been deprived of the word "comrade," who have been separated from us by another word, from which the moral meaning has been amputated. Well, who is it standing there without shoe-laces in front of the chief? It's Citizen Worker, Citizen Peasant, Citizen Writer, Citizen Academician; male citizens, female citizens, and their children.

And what is Andrey Dmitrievich Sakharov doing here—a man, whose value to the Motherland is only two hero stars behind the absolute champion of this great nation (who, incidentally, awarded them to himself). A man, whose contribution to the creation of nuclear power, both for war and peaceful purposes, was in the words of Academician Sagdeyev, the most brilliant at that time: "A man who possessed in combination, the brilliant intuition and the ability to make rapid analyses of a theoretical physicist, with the genius of an inventor."

Perhaps Sakharov legally should not have been in that queue? No, it was altogether legitimate... Because of his personal thoughts about the most important questions facing mankind—on war and peace; on dictatorship; on Stalin's repressions and freedom of thought; on demographic problems; on the pollution of the environment in which we live; and on the role which science and scientific-technical progress can play—which Academician Sakharov presented for discussion in the fourth year of post-volunteerism, when the dark clouds of "unanimity of thought" were once again thickening over the country.

He wrote his "Thoughts," because he was disturbed by the unutilized capabilities of the system; he wrote, understanding that the basic ideas of his works were not new and original.

"In 1967," recalls A.D. Sakharov in his autobiography, "I wrote for a collection of articles which were to be distributed according to official procedure, a futuristic article on the future role of science in the life of society and on the future of science itself. That same year, journalist E. Genri and I wrote an article for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on the role of the intelligentsiya and the danger of thermonuclear war. The CPSU Central Committee did not grant permission for publication of this article; however, by means not known to me it appeared in POLITICHESKIY DNEVNIK [Political Diary], a secret publication, something on the order of "samizdat," intended for the highest-ranking government officials. In a year, both of these articles, which remained little-known, became the basis for a work which was fated to play a central role in my public activity."

That work was "Thoughts," which did not reach the stage of discussion either, although excerpts from it (quotes and others) were printed in our newspapers. Inasmuch as those authors were unable to maintain their objectivity because of limitations imposed by social demands, I would like to present to the readers the finale of "Thoughts," leaving out not one point and condensing the formulation only in order to save space:

"1. The strategy of peaceful co-existence and cooperation must be extended by every means. Scientific methods and principles of international politics must be worked out, based on a scientific prognosis of the long-term and near-term consequences. 2. Initiative must be displayed in working out an extensive program for the struggle with



hunger. 3. It is necessary to work out, widely discuss, and adopt a 'Law on the Press and Information,' pursuing the goals of not only eliminating irresponsible ideological censorship, but also encouraging self-study in our society in every way; encouraging a spirit of discussion and search for truth, without fear... 4. All unconstitutional laws and orders which violate 'human rights' must be repealed. 5. Political prisoners must be given amnesty, and a number of political processes which have taken place of late must be re-examined... 6. Stalinism must be completely exposed—the whole truth, and not half-truths weighed on the scales of caste expedience. The influence of neo-Stalinists on our political life must be curtailed by all means... 7. Economic reform must be extended by all means; the sphere of experiment must be expanded and all conclusions must be made on its results. 8. After extensive scientific discussion, a 'Law on Geo-hygenics' must be adopted, which subsequently must be blended with world efforts in this sphere.

#### Conclusion

"With this article, the author is appealing to the leadership of our country, to all citizens, and to all people of good will in the entire world. The author understands the controversial nature of many of the proposals in the article, the goal of which is—open and frank discussion under conditions of glasnost. June, 1968"

Andrey Sakharov did not wait for the conditions of glasnost for himself: finding his own voice, he fought for them, bringing the time of changes closer by his own efforts. He had faith that they would come. In this same work he wrote, that the political process in our country would lead to "ideological victory of the realists; to extending peaceful co-existence; to strengthening democracy and expanding economic reforms. And he even gave the time period—from 1968 to the 1980's—with the proviso, incidentally, that these dates apply to the most optimistic version of events.

We venture to hear such words now. But even when they are pronounced from the party rostrum, they give rise to feelings of danger for those who utter them, inasmuch as we feel their unrecognized boldness.

All right, we shall look into these "Thoughts," says the vigilant reader in a prosecutorial tone; for past life has developed his tone of unconditional condemnation or approval (a tone of imaginary participation in the social process). After all, both before and after this work, the academician wrote something that he "should not have;" he defended someone that he "should not have;" and he received the Nobel Peace Prize, which of course a good man does not receive.

We shall return again to those preceding and following years, but for now, while walking about the Yaroslavskiy Vokzal at night—among the children sleeping on the baggage; among the soldiers, lying on the uncomfortable benches in positions which contradict scientific study on

the capabilities of the movable functions of the skeletal-muscular apparatus; among the unshaven men and the women who have taken off their shoes to rest their feet, sitting in the corners with their New Year's presents with them already and sausages for the students, not recognizing the foreign correspondents among them who must be here, according to my calculations, to greet the academician—I rejoiced at the inevitable delay, and went home, there to wait for 7:00 AM, when Express Train No 37 arrives.

I had the time to look up material on the one whom I was to meet, in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia. My interest and curiosity was mingled with a wretched excuse, which I was literally preparing to sing out to anyone at all: "But after all, his name is in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia!"

From the article about six Sakharov's presented in Volume 23, the material on Andrey Dmitrievich was not the whole truth, but on the other hand it was most laconical—nine lines. It begins with his birthdate, in 1921, which one cannot refute, and concludes with the sentence: "In recent years (The volume was written in 1976—Yu.R.) he has left his scientific activities," which Academician Sagdeyev refutes with ease:

"Not for one minute has he (Sakharov) ceased his active scientific work. In the late 1960's and early 1970's he turned to one of the most profound problems of contemporary natural science—the theory of gravitation and the origin of the Universe..."

And there you have the art of information! It would appear that there only nine lines in all, but how much is hidden behind them! Practically everything.

It certainly was not the three Hero's Stars noted in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia that led the young chap from the telephone link-up to the idea of the harm which Sakharov caused to the Fatherland, was it? Even that could be true, were they received in celebration of incomparable achievements in the sphere of political and economic leadership, and not for serious matters in the sphere of creation of super-weapons, without which nuclear parity would have been impossible, and perhaps life on earth as well... No. That means, it was from the newspapers...

And in the newspapers they wrote...that Sakharov, you see, had fought; and in the heat of the battle he, apparently, committed mistakes and spoke his mind, as he would not have spoken today. And so the "interpreters" have made their interpretations: ours in their own way, and the foreigners in theirs.

The image of Enemy of the mass hypnosis media was created with a noble goal in mind—to free its patients from the necessity of thinking. They have been protecting the reader, the listener and the viewer from that great misfortune which might spring up in connection with

this process: first one thinks, then one becomes thoughtful; and then, quick as a wink, one starts to formulate one's one thoughts. That which Sakharov has said and that which he has written about might prompt an honest person to come to the defense of the academician. The defender might innocently suffer, which would add to Andrey Dmitrievich's cares, inasmuch as he has set his goal in life as the defense of people persecuted for expressing their thoughts.

And so it turns out that the hypnosis has not only protected us, it has also saved Sakharov from unnecessary worries. Oh my, where was I with my explanation several years ago! I could have had *carte blanche*, the more so since with respect to hypnosis I have a certain amount of experience. I can still remember how at the Physical Culture Institute, a physiologist, Professor Gorkin—during one session, having closed off all channels of information except hearing, placed a piece of chalk in my hand and said: "This is sugar, lick it up!" And I licked... I no longer believed my own taste, I did not trust my own eyes, nor my own tactile senses; but the voice of the hypnotist—that I trusted. It was sweet. If he gave me paper and said it was bread, I'd eat it.

But nature can be fooled only for a time. An organism that does not receive the nutritious substances indicated by the voice starts to wither; and if it loses its hearing from weakness—that single connection by means of which I learned that life is sweet—it will in the end reject the falsehood and will start to search for the truth that will help it save and preserve itself.

All right... Perhaps one could not know that, having been born into a family of the Russian intelligentsia which considered the riches of the soul to be superior to all other riches. Andrey Sakharov, after graduating from Moscow State University in 1942, was sent off not to do scientific work, but to a war factory in the Volga Basin, where he invented many useful things for the front. After the war, when he applied for graduate study under Igor Tamm at the Physics Institute, without hesitation he plunged into a matter whose importance to the Motherland is difficult to overstate. His participation in the creation of thermonuclear weapons determined to a significant degree the success of that matter, and the ideas which he and Tamm shared in the realm of controlled thermonuclear reaction are fundamental even today, and were embodied in "Tokamak" [Toroidal chamber for magnetic separation of plasmas locked in a torus], which is being worked on throughout the world... There might be a great deal one does not know, but then one might also be right at the point of finding out. Then why on earth does one try to find out, if for almost seven decades it was drummed into you day after day, that only "education" is light? And why then should one lose one's inner voice out of misgivings, or worse yet, out of fear: we spend our entire lives trying to find our own, unique, singular, and final life, which we have become trained to measure not by our own love, honor, faith, suffering or usefulness to our nation and our Fatherland, but by dark

and predictable conceptions about it from a series of people enjoying temporary power (who have been canonized, by themselves, and fortunately only for their own lifetime). It is as if they, most of them mediocre people, were placed at the pinnacle of a society which combines their qualities, represent the highest court of temporal justice over man.

Who are they, these countless names and patronymics: these Andrey Aleksandrovich's, Andrey Palych's, and Mikhail Andreich's... Did they punish us and order us around in my name, or in your name, or in our names? What shall we call them? *Fear-delegates*?... And how then, tell me please, can they fail to love all those who have left this priceless heritage?

I understand, it goes without saying, that Sakharov was to a certain extent protected by his fame and by the tremendous role which he played in the creation of the bomb; but I am certain that were he deprived of that protection, he would nevertheless strive to prove his right to fight for justice and for a rational world. Only the situation would have changed—he would not be protecting someone, but someone would have been protecting him.

He successfully participated in the nuclear project without experiencing the "Oppenheimer complex." In July 1953 the 32-year-old physicist defended his doctoral dissertation (The first hydrogen bomb was tested on 12 August), and in October of that same year he became a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; in December he was awarded the star of Hero of Socialist Labor, and the Stalin Prize... He continued his work on thermonuclear weapons, and apparently occupied a leading role in this matter, for after a test of the gigantic power of the hydrogen bomb in 1955, Marshal M. Nedelin proposed that he be the first to offer a toast for the success. The success of the test was indisputable, but two "peaceful" deaths—that of a soldier and a little girl, who found themselves without cover tens of kilometers from the blast—proved to be a black mark on it. Sakharov raised his goblet and proposed that the "article" be exploded over test ranges, but never—over peaceful cities. And although a year later, having already received two Hero's medals and the Lenin Prize, he and I. Kurchatov actively involved themselves in a struggle against testing their joint brainchild in three environments—after the successful test he nevertheless had said, "Let them be exploded over the test ranges."

Nedelin responded with a parable which Andrey Dmitrievich considered not altogether polite. Granny is sitting on the Russian stove, and grandpa, kneeling in front of the icon, prays, "Make us strong and guide us." And granny says, "Just pray for strength, we'll find the way somehow by ourselves."

The plot of the parable was neither new, nor original. Many of the scientists knew it besides the marshal. As far as Sakharov was concerned, he did not want, and could not acquiesce to the role assigned to him in Nedelin's parable.

"I encountered great difficulties in my attempts to explain this problem, with those who did not want to understand. I wrote information memoranda (And one of these caused I.V. Kurchatov to travel to Yalta to meet with Khrushchev, in an unsuccessful attempt to cancel the tests in 1958), and I made speeches at meetings."

During the summer of 1961, at a meeting of atomic scientists with Khrushchev, Sakharov wrote a memorandum to the chief of state and sent it up the line: "Starting the testing once again after the three-year moratorium will undermine the test-ban and disarmament talks, and will lead to a new round in the arms race..."

"I would be a ditherer, and not Chairman of the Council of Ministers," said Khrushchev at the dinner following the meeting, "if I listened to people like Sakharov."

Next year, 1962, the ministry gave the order to carry out the next test explosion, which from a technical point of view was almost useless.

If it were only useless—that would not be too bad...

Teller, the father of the American hydrogen bomb, tried to put the world at ease by declaring that the harm from a test is equivalent to smoking one cigarette twice a month. But Sakharov proved that this position is false; in one of his works (making use of data available at that time on the consequences of radiation), he provided an estimate of the increase in the number of cases of cancer and leukemia; in the reduction of the capability of one's immune system; and in the growth in the number of mutations, which would subsequently lead to illnesses.

If it were only useless, if the only thing were that each burst was so costly! Its megatons of power are equal to thousands of unknown "silent" victims.

The blast of which we speak was to be very powerful. It threatened the health and lives of tens of thousands of people. But for Andrey Dmitrievich and the group of scientists to which he belonged, the test was completely safe; moreover, it was apt to be another success. However, Sakharov undertook desperate efforts to halt it. But nothing—even threatening the minister with his resignation—had any results. On the eve of the test he reached Khrushchev by phone in Ashkhabad and begged him to intervene.

"A few days later I received an explanation from one of Khrushchev's retinue, but at that time the time for the test had been re-set for an earlier hour, and the aircraft which carried the bomb had already delivered its burden to the planned point of detonation. I have kept the memory of that feeling of helplessness and horror which seized me on that day all my life, and a great deal in me was changed along the way to my present perception of the world."

The "helplessness and horror" had evidently seized him on the same day, because in that same year, 1962, he visited his ministry and explained his idea of a treaty which banned testing in three environments. Next year Khrushchev and Kennedy signed the treaty. That Sakharov's initiative was instrumental in this cannot be ruled out.

His feelings of civic consciousness became more pronounced. Fear and depression, if they had ever lived in his soul, came out of hiding. And he expanded the circle of his social anxiety.

Taking up the study of the effects of radiation on posterity, Sakharov came to understand the pernicious effects of Lysenko's prohibitions on the study of the laws of genetics. And having understood, he engaged in a struggle with the "people's academician," the favorite of N.S. Khrushchev. At a general assembly of the Academy, Sakharov, Tamm and several others spoke out against the selection of Nuzhdin, a "comrade-in-arms" of Lysenko, and were successful.

In 1966 Andrey Dmitrievich took part in a collective letter to the 23rd Party Congress, about the cult of Stalin, and that same year sent a telegram to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in opposition to an article of the law which opened the opportunity for persecution for one's convictions. Thus, his life became intertwined with the fate of the small group of people, but an influential group as he believed, who as a result came to be called "dissidents" (although he was more at home with the old Russian word, "free-thinkers").

For a long time the workers had had nothing to lose besides their rights, which were fraught with obligations, which—just like chains—can ensnare a person. Over the decades he had become convinced that they—the workers, teachers, kolkhozniks—had not themselves won the social gains which had been achieved: they were given to them. Given by the party and the government, and personally by (you supply the name) to motivate the "working man," or to punish him. They were given wages and an apartment; the opportunity to read something, to plant something, to extract something; but they could also withhold all this, or they could take it back...

Today the state has turned its face toward man and his problems, aspirations and needs. But in its heart of hearts, the vast administrative elite has retained the desire to defend the life of the controller, the distributor of rights and freedoms; for our consciousness has not yet been purged of the conformist passiveness of waiting for socialist alms.

Perhaps one should not wait for what they will give, but take what one has earned; overcome one's fear and achieve internal freedom? Freedom in general. To find out once and for all just what it is like? Perhaps it is not so terrible. Perhaps the people would even like it? And the people's leaders, perhaps they would also learn to live



with it? Let us live as we like, rather than as we can! After all, no one has the right, neither to give something to the people, nor to take it away. Let a man make his own choices. If socialism was invented for his good (and this I believe)—what is there to fear?—he will choose socialism. More precisely, socialism will be that which he chooses, and not that which someone else has chosen for him. Such a society must be given a different name.

Sometimes I think that, had Lenin not died by himself, his comrades-in-arms and apostles would not have been opposed to helping him do so; for in order to create a new "faith," one needs a new dead god; whereby merely with the authority of his name alone, one could unleash a freeinterpretation of his teachings. And it is left to people to bow down before the sacred power, and believe in a bright future, in a life beyond the grave; whereas, the troubles of real life can be explained as the evil intentions of traitors and apostates, Judas's, whom the "Follower and Top Student" had named from among those very same apostles, and later on his successor. He (and they) replaced the bread and salt with commandments. And these commandments were learned under his (and their) portraits, hung in republic, oblast and rayon cathedrals and monasteries, fenced in with strands of barbed-wire.

And when there were not enough familiar commandments, the un-spiritual seminarian would take them from other religions, airily substituting "Thou shalt kill the enemies of the faith," for "Thou shalt not kill;" and that enemy he called the people. And the missionaries of the new religion established by the follower, who betrayed the First Teacher, sowed terror and obedience on our land.

On the eve of the Olympic Games in 1980, Academician Sakharov, after his statement condemning the entry of "a limited contingent of troops" into Afghanistan, was without trial and without inquest, sent from Moscow to Gorkiy, just as they send the prostitutes away, so that they do not soil the image of the capital in the eyes of the world sports community.

The prostitutes, however, soon returned. But Sakharov and his wife were kept in isolation for almost seven years. There the academician continued to write fundamental articles on physics, and appeals in which he continued to defend his right to defend our rights. Behind the back of the silent policeman who sat at his door day and night, he was still a free man—who endured, in spite of the fact that the people, not having read and not having heard his words, formed a picture of him as the enemy, "a man who caused much harm to the country," on the basis of the "words of the hypnotists."

Today, when one reads even the crudest and most unjust remarks, one understands the depth of the pain, and the honesty and political foresight of Academician Andrey Dmitrievich Sakharov.

No doubt N. Yakovlev, who reprinted in the 500,000-copy edition of his book "The CIA Versus the USSR," an article by A. Yefremov and A. Petrov about "that political adventurer and anti-Soviet...that spiritual renegade and provocateur...that traitor of his people and his state," share both the words themselves and their ideas. (That which Nikolay Nikolayevich wrote himself I will not quote, out of respect to the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA; certain passages it seems to me would be inappropriate even for the gutter press—for which their author has already had his ears boxed by Andrey Dmitrievich—something which is rare in our day).

The main idea (what a wretched way to put it) in an article by the author of the book himself, is the moral deficiency of the "wild-eyed scientist," who is wholly under the influence of his wife, who is a "pernicious" woman, and as I understood from the text, is all but an agent of Zionism and the Pentagon—who, beating up her husband at leisure, forces him to write anti-Soviet slander as if on assignment... Get it?

There. It seems that I've restated everything correctly. Let us turn, however, to an article quoted in the book:

"As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the reforms which Ceasar Sakharov plans to implement, should he seize power, in essence amount to establishing a capitalist system:

"Partial denationalization of all types of activity, excluding perhaps heavy industry, and the principal kinds of transport and communication... Partial decollectivization... Limiting the monopoly on foreign trade..." There, you see!"

Ah yes, terrible, terrible... After all, we are talking about cooperation, about leasing and family contracts, and about the right of enterprises to independently conclude contracts with foreign firms. And Sakharov did not write this today, when the state has adopted laws on all these questions, but in 1971, in a "Memorandum for the Record" to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, and later in his larger work of 1975, "On the Country and the World."

One could add to the list of such measures, which Sakharov considered necessary in order to lead the country out of crisis:

"Complete economic, manufacturing, personnel and social independence of enterprises... Total amnesty for all political prisoners. Assurance of genuine freedom of one's convictions, freedom of conscience, and freedom to disseminate information. Legal guarantee of glasnost and public monitoring of the most important decisions taken... A law on free choice of the place where one wishes to live and work within the country... Guaranteed freedom to leave the country and to return to it... A ban on all forms

of party and official privileges not brought about by the direct necessity of carrying out official duties. Equality of all citizens as a basic principle..."

I drove up to Komsomolskiy Square, thereby demonstrating, to myself at least, the possibility of free choice (without taking into consideration, that for journalists, it is made up of two component parts at a minimum: the conscious choice of a topic and the conditions for carrying it out). Later it turned out that neither my episodic reporting about Sakharov's return, nor the serious interview which the academician gave to Oleg Moroz and me a week after his arrival, was ever published. But that came later, and that would not depend on us; meanwhile, I was freely, and without fear, running along the platform to ask a porter where the Gorkiy train comes in; and he, anticipating the question, having figured me out by my camera bag, says: "Get yourself down to the far one—your kind are all down there."

Not having time to go around the tracks "like normal people," I jump off the platform, step across the rails, and scramble up onto the other one, which is covered with ice. As I'm scrambling up I can see the train approaching, and a crowd of Western reporters standing alongside, armed with photo and video cameras, observing me. Not one offers me a hand to help me up (On the other hand, I didn't run into anyone on the crossties either. O thank you, thank you.) When I managed to get on top, I run around to car number 13, I think, clutching my camera in one hand and the tape recorder in the other, in order to be able to ask the questions which everyone is asking: "How will you be occupying yourself?" "With science. Right away today, I'll be going to a seminar at FIAN [Order of Lenin Physics Institute imeni P.N. Lebedev, USSR Academy of Sciences]" "How do you perceive what is going on in the country?" "With great interest and hope." "How did you learn that you could return to Moscow?" "On 15 December, they installed a phone at our place and said that I should await a call. At 3:00 Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev called and said that the decision had been made on my return to Moscow, for me and for my wife. I thanked Mikhail Sergeyevich, and said that my joy with regard to this decision was clouded by the news of the fact that my friend Anatoliy Marchenko, an advocate of human rights, had perished in prison, and that I was disturbed by the fate of other prisoners of conscience..."

In the crowd, having lost my fear and depression, I thought: would I have told the top man in the country, who called to tell me such news, about the fate of people who required his (or my) consideration? No, I wouldn't have said it... It's too soon.

Citizen academician, citizen academician...

I must write, I thought heroically, material for the sole purpose of changing the positions of these words.

Filled with the challenge which I had just accepted, I scanned the platform for anyone who might try (No, who could prior to this morning) to keep me from doing this. Well?! But the considerate people whom I encountered were condescendingly well-disposed.

And I saw in their glances: "Go ahead, old son, now you may!" And I experienced a familiar relief. The relief of a slave?

### **TuCP Task Force Calls for Stronger Women's Organizations**

18300150a Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 14 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by L. Antonishina: "Stepdaughters in Our Own Home"]

[Text] *Are we prepared to change over from the "women's question" to the "women's movement"? The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan has begun to look for paths for this changeover. To this end it sent a group of workers of ministries, party and Komsomol agencies, and the press headed by the secretary of the Turkmen CP Kh. Durdyev to Mary Oblast—Maryyskiy, Murgabskiy, Karakumskiy and Vekil-Bazarskiy rayons. Our correspondent contemplates what he witnessed during this trip.*

A woman's lot, a woman's happiness...their eternal quests are recorded in fairy tales, songs, ritual wailing and lamentations. Every nation has its own songs and tales that correspond to the spirit and customs of the nation. But they are born of an unquenchable thirst for a better fate, a dream of happiness. For this has not come easily to the simple person; barriers have grown up on the path—of both an economic and a social order.

I recall my grandmother's "memoirs." She used to sit and, addressing no one in particular, conduct a narrative of the past. One landmark after another, she would go through her life's path in her memory. She recalled the story of how they gave the hand of Mariya, her second daughter, in marriage. After they had gathered together the dowry—a featherbed, pillows, clothing—they called the matchmaker. They handed her a list with an order to find a husband who was well off and a pleasant person. Once she had seen how beautiful Mariya was, she tried to "fill the order." Everyone liked one elegant bachelor, but the village "grapevine" immediately brought to Grandmother's ears that the chap carried his shoes in his hands right up to the village itself, and in his pack he had a gray suit. It turned out that he was from a poor family in which all of the adult sons wore this finery on festive occasions and therefore they took good care of it. The parents refused to give him Mariya's hand.

Then the matchmaker brought another candidate—from a well-to-do family. They had the wedding and the young people left for a distant village. A week later Mariya jumped out of the window and ran away from her

husband and back under her parents' roof. I will not, she said, live with that torturer. And they brought her dowry back. In keeping with the customs in canons at that time, my poor aunt had to marry a widower from the village.

This kind of courting has receded into the past. But echoes of it are strong even today. Wedding feasts are becoming more and more expensive, the bride's gown is becoming more and more luxurious, and the wedding motorcades are becoming more and more ostentatious.

Just during the time we were in Mariy Oblast, there were three suicides. Among the victims were two 17-year-old girls.

I traveled through Turkmen villages, became acquainted with the lot of women, and was convinced that remnants of the past, residuals from the old order, are still living everywhere like weeds. The most favorable soil for them is the neglected life and the inadequate social attention paid to women.

Will we recognize something specific this time? For some reason there is a generally accepted opinion that the causes in this case are difficult to establish, and sometimes the "case" is supported by a medical conclusion concerning a psychological disorder or disease.

A correspondent from the newspaper SOVET TURKMENISTANY, Murad Nurgeldyyev, brought from the procurator's office some photographs of a girl who had committed suicide 6 days before our arrival. He said that here too one could see the intention to reduce the tragedy to an ordinary accident. But the girl did not seem to be mentally ill. She had become friends with a young chap and, judging from the photograph where they were seen together, nothing foretold a hopeless outcome.

Here are the statistics for Murgabskiy Rayon: "On 1 June 1987 Saparova died as a result of chloroform poisoning; on 4 August Pirnazarova was poisoned with vinegar essence—she lived; on 3 September Yemudova was poisoned with vinegar essence—she lived." Last year in this rayon three schoolgirls committed suicide by self-immolation and on 31 December 1987 in the seventh week of pregnancy, having drenched herself in gas oil, a 13-year-old woman from the Vatan Kolkhoz set herself on fire.

A total of 49 suicides among women were registered that year in Mariy Oblast.

So one wants to shout: Is this the Middle Ages! We are not melting wax dolls—living people are calling it quits with life. This is not simply an average statistical girl or woman—this is somebody's mother, wife, sister, bride. So why are we not sounding the alarm? If a house is on fire, and property—the alarm can be heard throughout the village, water is poured on the fire from buckets and pails, and the fire engines rush to the scene. But when a

person is on fire—quietly, without a word, she is taken to the cemetery. Things are hushed up and a curtain of silence separates us from the terror.

Women, why do you not gather in a crowd and walk through the village to the house where the disaster occurred, why do you not find out its causes, why do you not indicate the factors that directly or indirectly generate despair and hopelessness?

Half-empty stores, poverty-stricken hospitals, neglected kindergartens and day nurseries, dirty schools, poorly arranged field camps, water from streams that are cloudy from chemicals, drunken or insensitive men who have bought you for bride money—all this is your daily life. First tell yourself: "We do not want to put up with this! Here is where it is necessary to bring order into our socialist society! Here is the hotbed of the disaster that is preparing to burst into flame! Down with poverty, ignorance, contempt for women!"

**After a mother has been in a medical institution does she acquire any hygienic skills, can she look at herself and her life through different eyes?**

Public health has had no mercy for women for a long time. A good deal is written and said about its present condition. In particular, a detailed picture was given in the article in TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA on 10 February. We correspondents discussed the state of affairs in Maryyskiy Rayon. But what happened?

Now 8 months later having visited the rural section hospitals, the obstetrics points (FAP's), I became convinced that nothing had changed. The only difference was that at that time they were suffering from the cold, and now they are suffering from the heat. It is dark in the hospital wards. Protecting themselves from the blazing sun the women have hung blankets over all the windows. There are no separate beds for the children, they sleep with their mothers. Everywhere there is a shortage of medications, technical equipment, supplies, and food, about which both hospital and FAP workers have registered complaints.

For a third of a century Kanabay Allakuliyev has been working at the FAP of the Section imeni Parizhskaya Kommuna of the Kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev in Murgabskiy Rayon. The facility to which it moved 15 years ago from a ramshackle hovel is fairly tolerable. But in the winter they are protected from the cold by a camp stove. A water truck brings them water. A public health veteran complained that orders for medical supplies are not fully satisfied—there are interruptions in the deliveries of glucose, potassium chloride, and analgine.

In each hospital and each obstetrics point prominent places are assigned to tables and stands with sanitary educational literature. But, honestly speaking, it should have been used for scrap paper a long time ago. One does not feel like picking up these yellow, stiff brochures. I did



not find a single one on preventing intestinal disorders, hepatitis, or caring for children. There is almost no literature in the Turkmen language.

Having spent time in such a medical institution does the mother require any hygienic skills, does she look at herself and her life through different eyes? Of course not.

An alarming fact: as distinct from past years, the children are dying not at home, but in the hospitals. The doctors say that there are cases where the patients come in too late. For example, it seems to me that the mother waits until the last moment simply in order not to end up in the local health institutions.

Moreover, many women prefer pilgrimages to "holy" places. People who are infertile and those whose children have fallen ill also go there. They believe that all they have to do is push between the trunks of old dried-up trees and leave a note on a scrap with the essential desire—and the long-awaited cure will happen.

They have also resorted to sorcerers. True, the local medical workers say that they have not heard about them for a long time. In the Murgabskiy Rayon Hospital they recall only a case long ago when a child who had been in the hands of a sorcerer arrived there. There were numerous incisions on his chest—an uneducated quack had tried to let blood. Where is the guarantee that the disenchanted mothers will not secretly bypass the hospital and go to be saved from the ailment even now?

And yet each day hundreds of people put on their white smocks and go to their work places in hospitals and FAP's. But what is the apparent result of this mass employment of specialists in medicine? In Murgabskiy Rayon alone during the past 7 months of this year out of the 1,673 children who were born, 101 died under the age of 1.

The Murgabskiy Rayon Hospital went into operation 2 years ago. It is spacious and well-planned. The cleanliness in the wards and the laboratories pleases the eye. The medical personnel are in carefully ironed specialized clothing. In March the collective was awarded the honorary diploma of the Presidium of the Ispolkom of the Council of the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies for achieving high indicators in their work. The team of nurses took second place in the oblast competition of medical workers and participated in the republic competition.

But even here it is unpleasant for the mother and child. The sewage system does not work and the water faucet is out on the street. There is practically no place to wash the children's things. The local laundry cannot handle this and therefore there are not enough clean hospital swaddling clothes or romper suits.

Along with the personnel we rejoice in the fact that in the past 24 hours eight children had been born here. The only problem was that there was no assurance that they would not subsequently augment the sad statistics....

**How callous and heartless must one be to mercilessly take away a childhood?**

Kindergartens and day nurseries should be extremely powerful providers of health and development of the younger generation. But this is theoretical. In practice the situation in the majority of rural preschool institutions is little different from the very worst family life. Children in the kindergarten Gulshat-1 of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Karakumskiy Rayon are neglected. We visited there at the time when the children were on an outing. Left to their own devices, the children swarmed to a sand pit where there was not a single toy and two workers sat in the distance eating a watermelon. There was nothing there except a long wooden shed and some tables and chairs that had been thrown together. The worst thing is that people working in rural children's institutions think that this is the way it should be. They calmly take you around to show you the neglected facilities, the unsanitary kitchen, the half-empty shelves and refrigerators; to questions about activities with children, their drawings, their applique work and articles made of clay and plasticine, they shrug their shoulders, smiling.

But where will the knowledge come from? An educator at Kindergarten Gulshat-1, Guldzhamilya Klychliyeva, for example, completed only a 2-month course at the oblast institute for improving teachers. Others do not even have this much behind them. As a rule, the people working in children's preschool institutions do not have any kind of specialized education at all. It is thought that 10 years is quite adequate. And any old kolkhoz worker can be used in seasonal day nurseries.

**There is nowhere to spend free time: no club, town square, or dance hall.**

One can see the stagnation of culture and the scarcity of social life in rural areas. In the same building with the obstetrics point of the Kolkhoz Leningrad in Murgabskiy Rayon there is a library in which Orazgozel Akmuradova is working as a librarian 4 years after graduation from secondary school. There was hardly anyone to explain to her the duties in this job. Someone at some time had set up the standard displays and placed the books on the homemade shelves—and for years they all gathered dust, as they say, until they were needed. But nobody is interested either in the displays or in the tattered books that were published who knows when. Here it is impossible to learn anything new about foreign or our multinational literature, and even new Turkmen literature is not represented here.

And yet at the dawn of Soviet power, at one time culture proceeded from these reading nooks and reading rooms into the depths of the rural areas. These were the spawning grounds for elimination of illiteracy and for the education of the people. Was it not in such a reading room that at one time the boy Ata Salikh, a future classicist of Turkmen poetry, reverently took a book into his hands? But what has happened to his compatriots, where is their thirst for knowledge? Do they even remember him? I doubt it after my unsuccessful attempt to see the poet's grave. I wandered through the overgrown, hilly site, which had no paths or points of reference, and returned without having seen anything. It is shocking that they have forgotten a man who was the national pride of the Turkmen people.

I wanted to ask Urazgozel about a lot of things. What she and her contemporaries think about life, what youth see in the future, what they aspire to? Smiling in confusion, Orazgozel answered that the 18 girls from her class had received school-leaving certificates. Twelve of them remained on the kolkhoz. There is nowhere for them to spend their free time: there is no club, square or dancing spot. They go to their friend's library—they talk about movies they have seen and dream about their future husbands.

It is not surprising that the young kolkhoz workers see marriage as a way out, a way to change their way of life, and the goal and meaning of their existence. But marriage takes bride money.

**A girl fell in love with a young man and waited until he was out of the army. But the parents demanded that they fork out for the bride.**

"Bride money is a kind of plague. It is now recognized as such an attractive form that it is a temptation for inexperienced future brides," said one of the women I was talking to on the trip through the rayons. "Such a girl goes to her married friend. She brings out fabrics, earrings, rings—this is what they paid for me. And some enviously begin to equate this wealth with themselves. Because of their young age they do not understand that bride money can then show its bad side. The husband's parents do not like the bride and start to reproach her. They say, you cost us so much, and if the bride money was not very much, conversely, the bride takes the attack and says, you paid so little for me so you have few rights, so do not tell me what to do. And the battle is on. This is a very short distance from a tragedy."

And only a very small part of modern youth actually get married without bride money.

In Vekil-Vazarskiy Rayon, we followed the tracks like in a detective story. A boy and girl fell in love while they were still in school. Then the young man served in the army. When he returned, Agaoraz Ishanov proposed to his Aktyz. Her parents required a fee. But the young people did what they wanted to do: they came to the

ispolkom of the rural soviet and announced that they wanted to arrange their lives without the disgraceful and excessive bride money. The ispolkom workers and deputies tried to influence the girl's stubborn mother, but to no avail. And the young man was even threatened. Then the local authorities made a drastic decision—they sent the bride and groom to another rayon for 3 days under police protection and a week later they celebrated the marriage.

We discussed this family with the deputy chairman of the rayispolkom, Maya Dzhumayevna Konnova. The young couple was now living in the home of Agaoraz's parents along with her brother's large family. The family members greeted us politely. Agaoraz said:

"Everyone was at the wedding, they approved of our action, and said that they themselves would do the same thing."

Of course serving in the army played a large role in Agaoraz's decisiveness. As he himself explained, during the 2 years he had seen people and life and understood that bride money is paid out of ignorance and against a modern background it is barbarous.

This story ended well. Largely because of the actions of the chairman of the ispolkom of the rural soviet, Kongur Oraz Kopelov. He himself was firmly opposed to this unhealthy inherited practice:

"The consequences of the bride money have repercussions on the family for years after the wedding. The husband was like a beggar while the wife has plenty of clothing. Really: she has 50 or 60 bolts of cloth in her trunk. It is best if all this happens without debts. Each year 150-160 couples get married here. After our intervention some of them have gotten married without bride money. When we learn that the groom's parents are beginning to go around to the neighbors and pile up debts we go to them and ask them to stop this nonsense.

"Along with the deputies we are discussing how to step up the fight against remnants of the past because their roots are still very strong. Do you think that they leave the young people alone? No, they put sticks in their wheels. Therefore we gather both sets of parents together and again have a serious talk.

"The ispolkom has allotted 2,800 rubles for creating a room for holding weddings. We are also looking for other ways of influencing adherence to the old order. The ispolkom is acting in close contact with the legal protection agencies. The measure is compulsory: the detective stories are not fabricated."

I must admit that during my trip this was the first time I had encountered such a clear-cut position on the part of local authorities with respect to bride money. In other

rayons the people with whom I spoke referred to objective factors, saying that it is very difficult to discover when bride money is being paid.

Moreover, frequently the ones who are condemned are not the proponents of bride money but those who are against it. The collective of School No 18 of Karakumskiy Rayon, for example, fired a primary school teacher Ogulbedek Redzhepova. And the story is approximately the same as the one presented above. She fell in love with a chap and waited for him to get out of the army. But her parents demanded money for the bride. The girl went to the Komsomol raykom. But there they did not try to straighten things out and clarify relations. And at their meeting the rest of the teachers unanimously condemned the modern Komsomol member. They created such an dense atmosphere of hostility around here that she was forced to leave the school and go to work on a different kolkhoz as a kindergarten teacher. She wants to go back but the school's director, Khydyrmurad Vagnuradov, blaming the lack of vacancies, refuses her. And yet this is not so, there are three teachers in primary grades who are holding jobs without the appropriate education.

At our request the collective gathered for an open discussion. The teachers, the majority of them men, had for a long time not wished to admit that such an unpleasant thing had taken place in their school until one of the teachers was courageous enough to tell the truth.

It turns out that an educator must have courage in order to have a progressive view. This paradoxical, unnatural situation is not forming just anywhere—it is in the school. But why is this moral baggage now causing a shortage of rural teachers?

This is manifested in everything. In front of the entrance to the school, they have installed a monument to their compatriots who died in the war. Apparently they were counting on having the teachers and students be concerned about them. But they were mistaken: the collective of 500 remains indifferent. The monument juts out of the dry earth like a lonely clod.

In the corridor is an enormous stand with many photographs. They explain proudly that these are graduates who have entered higher educational institutions. But strange as it may be, there was no place here for those who had gone to work on the kolkhoz or in production.

**The women's movement should be headed by enthusiasts, activists with great authority to whom the people would be drawn.**

Facts are stubborn things. And this time they only confirm it: purposeful, comprehensive assistance in providing a material basis for the life of the family is inadequate in the sphere of the nurturing and education of posterity. For too long wide-reaching articles in the newspapers about awarding women with many children the title "mother-heroine"

have spread the illusion of well-being. They have not wanted to admit that sometimes behind all this there is need and concern, tragedy and confusion.

It is difficult for party, Komsomol and soviet workers to let go of their stereotypes regarding women.

A typical occurrence: we were speaking with the secretary of the party organization of the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in Murgabskiy Rayon, Kuvanch Khodzhamuradov. He willingly responded to our request to name the leading workers. He listed the names one after another: Kurbanov, Yusupov, Meredov, Durdyev, Palvanov.... He hesitated only after being requested to name the women. It was noted that it was difficult for him to recall the names. True, then he told about the successes of the mother-heroine milkmaids Agulsapar Nuryeva, who was awarded the Order of Labor Glory, and the cotton pickers Nurdzhemal Ovezova and Edzhegul Gurdova.

Recently they have begun to devote more attention to youth on the kolkhoz. The girls—and there are more than 15 of them—have toured the cities of Central Asia. In the winter they organized a discotheque. The party organizer admitted that he himself had danced there. These are good signs, of course. But here is what is interesting: when the topic came around to arranging a public dance hall the party leader rejected this idea, saying let the girls dance at their weddings, is this not enough?

The deputy kolkhoz chairmen for culture are called upon to play no small role in the matter of increasing the activity of women in public life. But the majority of them, as was typical of a time of stagnation, have reduced their activity to show—they greet guests and commissions and carry out various instructions from the farm leader. Neither in the public health or children's preschool institutions, nor in the appearance of the villages, does one feel their influence. We thought that during the harvest we would find them busy with their work—in the field camps, in the kindergartens, schools and hospitals. But we met few of them in these crucial areas.

Great potential possibilities lie in the women's soviets. But formalism deadens this mass women's organization as well. In keeping with tradition the rayon women's soviets are headed by deputy chairmen of the rayispolkoms. We spoke with the deputy chairman of the Murgabskiy and Vekir-Bazarskiy rayispolkoms, Lyalya Allamuradovna Akyyeva and Maya Dzhumayevna Konnova. Both of them admitted that it is difficult to hold two jobs. One is forced to the conclusion that the women's movement should be headed by enthusiasts who have a great deal of authority, activists to whom people would be drawn. Only then would they help the rural working woman to overcome her social timidity and take up a worthy position in society.

In the meantime...hundreds of Turkmen workers are committing suicide, wasting away their lives, and we still cannot understand why this is.



Attention was devoted to all of these problems at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It was noted that our country has achieved equal rights between women and men, provided for equal access to almost all professions, established equal pay for equal labor, and guaranteed other rights of women. But along with their unquestionable gains women still have concerns that keep them from fully taking advantage of these rights. Therefore we should direct all our efforts toward changing the existing abnormal situation and opening up the broad road for the women's movement.

The brigade of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan included an instructor from the Department of Propaganda and agitation of the TuCP, N. Goshliyev; first secretary of the LKSNT Central Committee, Ya. Gundogdyev; chairman of the political department of the TuSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, B. Dovletov; TuSSR deputy ministers of public health and education A. Aliyeva and B. Saparmuradova; deputy editor of the magazine ZAKHMETKESH AYAL, O. Ussayeva; and special correspondent of the newspaper SOVET TURKMENISTANY, M. Nurgeldyyev.

## LaSSR Supsov Resolution, Proposed Changes to Draft Reform Laws

**LaSSR Supreme Soviet Resolution**  
*18000226a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*18 Nov 88 p 3*

[Resolution of Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet: "Proposed Changes to Drafts of USSR Laws 'Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)' and 'Election of USSR People's Deputies'"]

[Text] After listening to the report of the Legal Department of the Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet concerning the discussion of the drafts of the USSR Laws "Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and "Election of USSR People's Deputies," the Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet notes that the drafts of the laws are being actively discussed at meetings of public organizations, labor collectives, and citizens at their place of residence, at meetings between the voters and the deputies, as well as in the press and on television and radio. As of 16 November 1988, 307,895 citizens have expressed their opinion concerning the drafts of the laws, and 238 different recommendations have been made.

The Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet notes that the drafts being discussed are the first and ground-breaking stage in the restructuring of the political system that was proclaimed by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Norms in the drafts that conform to the present-day period in the development of society are those that restore the guiding position of the soviets with respect to the ispolkoms and their apparatus; that establish the election of USSR people's deputies from among several candidates, the incompatibility of the status of deputy with individual managerial positions in other agencies; as well as the norms stating that officials elected or appointed by the soviets of people's deputies cannot occupy their positions for more than two terms in a row. One positive feature is the granting to the deputies of broader opportunities for engaging in deputy activities in the permanently operating Supreme Soviet, as well as a number of other innovations.

At the same time, the drafts contain incompletely thought-out norms and even principles. Substantial corrections are needed with regard to questions of the electoral system, the sovereignty of the union republics, and constitutional overview. This opinion is maintained by 286,770 citizens in the republic who expressed their opinion as of 16 November 1988.

The procedure proposed by the drafts for electing one-third of the deputies from public organizations having unionwide agencies contradicts the democratic foundations for the holding of elections, since it would violate such absolutely fundamental principles as the universal, equal, and direct electoral right. The holding of elections according to this system could lead to a limitation of the

opportunity for practical participation by individual union republics in the work of the highest agencies of state authority in the USSR.

The preservation, in the electoral system, of the opportunity for a considerable number of the citizens to participate in the elections at the place where they are temporarily located does not conform to the very purpose of the election of the people's deputies and is of a purely formal nature.

The election of rayon and city people's judges by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies, as stipulated in the amendments to the USSR Constitution, does not guarantee the judges' independence.

A number of proposed amendments to the USSR Constitution do not conform completely to the principle of the complete equality of the union republics, to their sovereignty, or to the course set down by the 19th All-Union CPSU Congress—a course aimed at the further development and reinforcement of the Soviet federation on the basis of democratic principles.

The established norms for representation of the deputies in the Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, grant advantages to the union republics having autonomous formations within their makeup. The stipulated procedure for forming the Supreme Soviet and determining the results of the election in the houses does not preclude the enactment of laws and decisions that infringe upon the interests of the small republics.

The detailed definition of the powers enjoyed by the highest agencies of state authority prior to the definition of the competency of the USSR and the legal status of the union republics is unfounded. The task of increasing the independence of the union republics is not served by excessive centralization in the area of legislative regulation of relations of ownership, the administration of the national economy and sociocultural construction, the activity of the local agencies of authority, and many other questions in the life of the republic.

The proposed draft does not guarantee the representation of all union republics in the Constitutional Overview Committee and only a narrow set of questions have been included in the competency of that committee.

What has been stated attests to the fact that the USSR drafts that have been submitted for nationwide discussion require serious amounts of additional work. However, the enactment of USSR laws is necessary in order to conduct next year's election of USSR people's deputies on a qualitatively new level.

In the process of modifying the drafts in the legislative recommendations commissions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme

Soviet, the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet recommends taking the following into consideration:

- people's deputies from public organizations are elected directly by the citizens in the appropriate territorial electoral districts;
- the citizens participate in the election at their permanent place of residence, and in the event that they cannot be present, they submit to the election committee, in a sealed envelope, their decision concerning the deputy candidates before their departure;
- people's judges are elected by the superior soviets of people's deputies;
- the Council of Nationalities is elected on the basis of an identical quota from each union republic; a voting procedure is established whereby a law is considered to be enacted only after all the republic groups of delegates have voted for it;
- the powers granted to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet are no longer to include the decision of questions limiting the independence of the union republics;
- the constitutional overview agency is the USSR Constitutional Court that is formed from specialists of all the union republics, or the Constitutional Overview Committee that has the right to recognize as not being in effect any normative acts that contradict the law; the series of questions to be considered by that agency is expanded (resolution of disputes between union republics; consideration of cases dealing with the violation of the USSR Constitution and laws by the highest officials; etc.).

The Legal Department of the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, jointly with the republic's leading specialists in the legal sciences, has developed the recommendations in the form of specific amendments to the appropriate articles in the specified drafts.

The Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. The submittal for consideration by the 10th Session of LaSSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, the recommendations that have been developed by the Legal Department of Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet, jointly with the republic's leading specialists in the legal sciences, that pertain to the drafts of the USSR laws entitled "Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and "Election of USSR People's Deputies."

2. The recommendations pertaining to the drafts of the USSR laws are to be sent to Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet and are to be published in the republic press.

A. Gorbunov, Chairman of the Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet.

V. Klibik, Secretary of the Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet.

Riga, 17 November 1988.

#### Proposed Changes

18000226b Riga SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
18 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[Article: "Proposals Concerning the Draft of the USSR Law 'Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)' Which Were Developed by the Legal Department, Presidium of LaSSR Supreme Soviet, Jointly with the Republic's Leading Specialists in Legal Scientists"]

[Text] 1. To Article 89, add Part II with the following content: "The soviets of people's deputies, on their territory, carried out the entirety of state authority."

2. To Article 93, add Part II with the following content: "Any economic or sociocultural activity on the corresponding territory is carried out only with the consent of the soviet of people's deputies."

3. To Part II of Article 94, after the words "submit for discussion," add the words "and vote."

4. Change the wording of Article 95 to read as follows:

"Article 95. The election of people's deputies are carried out for single-candidate and multiple-candidate districts on the basis of the universal, equal, and direct electoral right, with secret voting.

"According to the norms established by the USSR Constitution, one-third of the USSR people's deputies are elected from the territorial electoral districts; one-third from the national-territorial electoral districts; and one-third from public organizations—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the trade unions, cooperative organizations, the All-Union Komsomol, associations of women, war and labor veterans, and scientific workers, creative unions, and other public organizations and associations of USSR citizens which were created in the established legal procedure and which have nationwide or republic-level agencies—from multiple-candidate territorial electoral districts."

5. In Part I of Article 96, delete the words "from the electoral districts" and "the right to elect deputies from public organizations is enjoyed by all the delegates to their congresses and conferences, or the participants in the plenums of their nationwide or republic-level agencies."

6. In Article 97:

In Part I, delete the words "from the electoral districts"; delete Part II.



7. In Article 98:

In Part I, delete the words "from the electoral districts"; delete Part II.

8. In Article 100:

Reword Part I to read as follows:

"Article 100. The right to nominate candidates for election as people's deputies belongs to labor collectives, public organizations, and gatherings of voters at their place of residence and of military personnel at their military units. The nomination of candidates for election as people's deputies from public organizations is carried out by their nationwide or republic-level agencies, which take into consideration the opinion of the lower-level collectives and the members of those organizations";

In Part III, delete the words "as a rule";

In part IV, delete the words "and the making of decisions concerning the notification of candidates' name to the appropriate electoral district for registration."

9. In Article 108:

Reword paragraphs 2, 11, and 12 of Part III of Article 108 to read as follows:

"2) the annexation of new republics into the USSR; the approval of the formation of new autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts as part of union republics";

"11) election of the USSR Constitutional Court";

"12) countermanding of legislative acts adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet in the event that they contradict the USSR Constitution; the guaranteeing that the laws of the union republics conform to the USSR Constitution";

Delete paragraph 13 of Part III;

Add to Part IV the words: "On the request of deputies representing any union republic, the voting is done separately by groups from the union republics, and the law is considered to be adopted if all the republic groups have voted for it."

10. Reword paragraph 3 of Article 109 to read:

"750 deputies from the national-territorial electoral districts according to the standard of 50 deputies from each union republic."

11. In Article 111:

Reword Part IV to read as follows:

"The houses are elected at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies by the deputies' general vote.

"The Council of the Union is elected from among the people's deputies from the territorial electoral districts and the USSR people's deputies from public organizations. In the Council of the Union, every union republic has no fewer than seven deputies.

"The Council of Nationalities is elected from among the USSR people's deputies from the national-territorial electoral districts according to the standard of 14 deputies from each union republic";

Renumber Parts V, VI, and VII, respectively, Parts VII, VIII, and IX.

12. In Article 113:

Reword paragraph 6 to read as follows:

"6. establishes the foundations of the legislation of the USSR and the union republics";

Delete paragraph 7;

Reword paragraph 9 to read as follows:

"9. defines the legal status of the nationwide public organizations";

Delete paragraph 20;

Add to Part I a new paragraph with the following content:

"The making of decisions concerning the holding of nationwide voting (referendum)."

13. Reword Part II of Article 115 to read as follows:

"A USSR law is considered to be adopted if it is approved by both houses. In the Council of the Union, the results of the vote are determined by the majority of the votes of the house members. In the Council of Nationalities, the results of the vote are determined separately by groups of deputies from the union republics, and the law is considered to be adopted if all the republic groups have voted for it."

14. Reword Part III of Article 116 to read as follows:

"The question that are subject first of all to consideration in the Council of Nationalities are the questions of promoting the socioeconomic development of the republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs, of guaranteeing national equality and the interests of the nations, nationalities, and national groups in combination with the overall interests and needs of the Soviet multinational state, of improving legislation, and regulating national relations."

15. Reword paragraph 13 of Article 119 to read as follows:

"13) in the interests of defending the USSR, declares martial law in individual localities or throughout the country."

16. Reword the second sentence in Part II of Article 120 to read as follows:

"He can be recalled by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies by means of secret voting on the recommendation of the USSR Constitutional Court."

17. In paragraph 3 of Article 121, replace the words "of the USSR Committee of Constitutional Overview" by the words "of the USSR Constitutional Court."

18. Reword Part IV of Article 122 to read as follows:

"The permanent commissions of the houses, and the committees of USSR Supreme Soviet, are formed on principles of the equal representation of all the union republics and are renewed annually by up to one-fifth of their composition."

19. Reword Article 124 to read as follows:

"Article 125. USSR Constitutional Court is elected by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for a 10-year term from among the specialists in the field of law, and is to consist of a chairman, a deputy chairman, and 13 court members—one representative from each union republic.

"Persons elected to the USSR Constitutional Court cannot be simultaneously members of agencies whose acts are within the purview of the court.

"Persons elected to the USSR Constitutional Court, when fulfilling their duties, are independent, are subordinate only to the USSR Constitution, and enjoy immunity on a par with USSR people's deputies.

"The USSR Constitutional Court:

"1) on its own initiative, or acting on instructions from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, submits to the congress its findings to the effect that the draft versions of USSR laws that are subject to consideration by the congress conform to the USSR Constitution;

"2) on its own initiative, or acting on instructions from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or on the recommendation of USSR Supreme Soviet, submits to USSR Supreme Soviet, its findings to the effect that acts of USSR Supreme Soviet and its houses, and the draft versions of the acts of those agencies, conform to the USSR Constitution and to USSR laws that have been enacted by USSR Congress of People's Deputies;

"3) considers cases dealing with contradictions between the USSR constitution and laws, and the constitution and laws of the union republics;

"4) on its own initiative, or on the recommendation of the highest agencies of the USSR and the union republics, considers cases dealing with the manner in which

the normative acts of other state agencies of the USSR and nationwide agencies of public organizations conform to the USSR Constitution and laws;

"5) resolves, on the initiative of the union republics, disputes between them;

"6) considers cases dealing with the violation of the USSR Constitution and laws by the highest officials.

"When establishing that a law contradicts the USSR Constitution, the USSR Constitutional Court sends its findings to the agency that promulgated the law. The sending of these findings temporarily stops the execution of the USSR law that contradicts the Constitution.

"When establishing that another normative act of the USSR contradicts the USSR Constitution or a USSR law, the USSR Constitutional Court makes a decision concerning the recognition of this act as being invalid.

"The organization and procedure for the activity of the USSR Constitutional Court are defined by the Law Governing the USSR Constitutional Court."

20. In Article 152:

In Part II, replace the words "by the appropriate rayon, city, rayon, and city-rayon soviets," and in Part III the words "by the appropriate soviets," by the words "by the superior soviets."

Reword the first sentence of Part V to read as follows:

"The judges of all courts are elected without any limitation of their term";

Reword Part 6 to read as follows: "The judges and people's assessors can be recalled in the legally established procedure."

21. In Part III of Article 103, replace the word "elected" by "nominated."

22. In Part I of Article 107, delete the words "or to the public organization that elected him" and in Part II of that article the words "or the public organization that elected him."

23. Reword the last sentence of Part III of Article 135 to read as follows:

"The procedure by which enterprises and associations are transferred from republic and local subordination to union subordination is defined by USSR Supreme Soviet."

24. Delete the amendment to Articles 137, 138, 139, 143, 144, 149, and 150."

[End of proposed changes]

The proposed changes to the draft of the USSR Law entitled "Election of USSR People's Deputies" will be published on 19 November 1988.

### **LaSSR Peoples' Forum Proposed to Improve Interethnic Relations**

#### **LaSSR Buro Discusses Proposal**

18000204 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
22 Oct 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Latvian CP Central Committee: On Holding a Forum of the Peoples of the Republic"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro studied public proposals to conduct a forum of the peoples of the LaSSR. Workers of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, the chairman of the Latvian Popular Front D.E. Ivans, and the chairman of the Baltic-Slavic Society V.P. Steshenko took part in the discussion of this question.

It was noted that under restructuring the social and political activism of the republic's broad masses has sharply increased. The number of unofficial formations and movements which want to augment their contribution to accelerating the socioeconomic transformations is growing rapidly. Today practically all the strata of our society and all national groups of the republic's population are represented in them. Each of these formations has its own way of seeing the continued progress of restructuring. Proceeding from these positions, they advance their own programs of transformations. Frequently these programs are not well thought out, do not take into account the realities which have taken shape in the republic, and contradict one another; that arouses negative emotions and deliberately or unwittingly sows mistrust among the peoples of our republic.

In order to prevent lack of communication among the forces, communists, activists of the Latvian Popular Front and the Baltic-Slavic Society, the councils of the republic's labor collectives, and public organizations propose that a forum of the peoples of our republic be held. This forum is to outline ways to consolidate all the republic's healthy forces; formulate a precise and clear conception of improving interethnic relations based on Leninist principles of nationality policy; develop specific measures to realize the decisions of the 19th Party Conference and the May 1988 plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee and the resolutions of the plenum of the Writers' Union with the participation of other creative unions and the constitutional congress of the

Latvian Popular Front; and to discuss the proposals for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on questions of nationality policy.

After reviewing these proposals, the Central Committee Buro supports the initiative of the public and the workers to hold a forum of the peoples of the LaSSR this year in Riga. Taking into account the particular importance and significance of this measure, it was decided to charge the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet with conducting the forum. It was deemed advisable to create an organizing committee headed by A.V. Gorbunov, the chairman of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to make preparations for the forum and prepare the documents for it. Representatives of the republic Supreme Soviet, members of the Latvian CP Central Committee, the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council, the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee, the governing board of the Popular Front Duma [Council], the Baltic-Slavic Society, and the councils of labor collectives, and representatives of other public organizations and all peoples of the LaSSR will be broadly represented in the membership of the organizing committee.

The Central Committee Buro instructed city and rayon party committees and party organizations to give all kinds of assistance in preparing for the forum and forming fully-empowered delegations of cities and rayons in conditions of broad glasnost and democratization and to make sure that all social strata of our society and all national groups of the population are proportionally represented in them.

#### **Organizing Committee Meets**

18000204 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
2 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "In Anticipation of the Forum of the Peoples of the LaSSR": "Meeting of the Organizing Committee"]

[Text] The first meeting of the organizing committee on conducting a forum of the peoples of the LaSSR was held. It was directed by chairman of the organizing committee A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It was decided by a majority of votes to hold the forum of the peoples of Soviet Latvia on 10-11 December in Riga at the building of the House of Political Education of the Latvian CP Central Committee. The quotas of representation and the procedure for electing delegates were set.

The forum's goals and tasks were discussed at the meeting and the forum's agenda was examined on a preliminary basis.

I.Ya. Kezbers, Latvian CP Central Committee secretary, was chosen as chairman of the working group to prepare a draft of the forum's proposals for the CPSU Central



Committee Plenum on questions of improving interethnic relations in the USSR and Academician Y.P. Stradyn, head of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Organic Synthesis laboratory, was chosen chairman of the working group to prepare a draft of the resolution of the forum.

The next meeting of the organizing committee is set for 10 November.

### Organizing Committee Outlines Goals

18000204 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
4 Nov 88 p 1

[Text of "Appeal of the Organizing Committee of the Forum of the Peoples of the Latvian SSR to All Inhabitants of the Republic"]

[Text] Esteemed Fellow Citizens!

Among the questions of restructuring in the republic, disputes concerning the problems of interethnic relations have recently become more and more heated. And the bitterness and inability to listen to one another which are increasingly found in these disputes cause special concern.

This is a futile and, moreover, dangerous path. We inhabitants of the republic, despite our origins, have one common home—Latvia, and the well-being of each and every one of us together depends on the well-being and prosperity of Soviet Latvia.

We must learn how to hear out and understand one another without suspicion or offense and together find solutions to the complex problems whose existence undermines the foundations of our common home and threatens the future of our children.

This is exactly how we see the meaning of convening a forum of the peoples of Latvian SSR. Its task is honest and constructive discussion of the important questions of the republic's sociopolitical and cultural life, among them those on which opinions not only diverge, but even contradict one another. These questions include the meaning of the concept "the sovereignty of Latvia as part of the Soviet Union," the principles of the republic's economic independence, paths of democratization of the political system, the problems of ecology, a halt to the economically and socially unjustified mechanical influx of work force, the conditions for using the Latvian, Russian, and other languages, the search for a model of harmonious interethnic relations, and development of the culture of the Latvian and other peoples living in Latvia.

The forum should be a tribune for free dialog among representatives of different viewpoints and do so without offending anyone's sense of national dignity.

We call upon all the mass information media to deal with articles on questions of interethnic relations with the greatest responsibility so that they promote consolidation rather than dissolution.

We appeal to teachers, medical specialists, and workers of the militia, trade, public transport, and domestic and municipal services. It is on you that the atmosphere and culture of interethnic relations largely depend.

Let us always remember the basic principle of interethnic relations: standing for friendship and mutual understanding among peoples means fighting against chauvinist and nationalist manifestations, above all in one's own milieu.

Esteemed fellow citizens—Latvians, Russians, Belorussians, Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Jews, Gypsies, Livonians, and representatives of all nationalities living in our republic! The forum is our common cause. The level and results of it depend on all of us—above all on what delegates we choose and whether they are people who understand their responsibility, are loyal to the cause of restructuring, are concerned about Latvia's fate, and are worthy of our common trust.

Each person can make his contribution to preparations for the forum if he makes his proposals on questions which should be studied at the forum and on decisions which it should adopt.

We await your support and your proposals!

The forum's motto is "Latvia is our common home."

Let us remember that!

Organizing Committee of the Forum of Peoples of the Latvian SSR.

Proposals for conducting the forum of the peoples of the Latvian SSR should be mailed to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium or telephone: 32-38-19 and 32-38-24.

### Gorbunov on Forum

18000204 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
4 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the organizing committee for the forum, by V. Semenov, Latinform correspondent; occasion, date, and place not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Hold a forum of the peoples of the LaSSR on 10-11 December in Riga at the House of Political Education of the Latvian CP Central Committee. The organizing committee on conducting the forum adopted that decision. In this connection Latinform correspondent V.

Semenov held an interview with the chairman of the organizing committee A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[V. Semenov] Anatoliy Valeryanovich, let us take the bull by the horns, as they say—why is it necessary to convene a forum of the peoples of Latvia?

[A.V. Gorbunov] A direct answer for a direct question. Many inhabitants of different nationalities of our republic notice with concern that tension exists in interethnic relations. And this tension has tended to increase, especially recently. Manifestations of this tension are very diverse—from incidents of interethnic conflicts in daily life to surges of a disrespectful and at times even offensive attitude toward a certain nationality in the mass information media and public statements. Understandably, this causes serious concern among sensible people. And they justifiably talk about how this tension threatens both the achievement of the basic goals of restructuring and the continued development and deepening of the very process of democratization and of all those changes which involve economic and political reforms. I also share this concern of the republic's inhabitants. For we still have not really gotten down to work on the principal tasks of restructuring, and all the main work is ahead of us. And now, instead of getting started on it, we are fanning the tension on the basis of interethnic relations. Many people clearly and well understand this first cause which has made it necessary to convene a forum of the peoples of Soviet Latvia. It is for that reason that at the meeting of the organizing committee the overwhelming majority supported holding the forum without any delays or link-ups to significant dates. And that, I think, is right. For it must be admitted that at times emotional surges complicate everything constructive and prevent us from moving ahead.

[V. Semenov] It is difficult not to agree with that. But improving interethnic relations is a job which is very protracted and very labor intensive and requires a comprehensive approach. I would like to know what the particular goals of the upcoming forum are.

[A.V. Gorbunov] In actual fact one goal is being set—to search for a new model of joint existence. And this search must take place in the form of a dialog rather than a series of monologs. It is time to break ourselves of listening only to ourselves and learn to listen first of all to the person with whom we are talking—a person of a different nationality. Only then can we feel and understand what is painful to him and what sore points we are touching. Of course, it would be naive to suppose that holding one forum could eliminate these sore points, but it should remove or at least reduce the pain. Essentially we can say that the forum is called upon to make a start in formulating the concept of the development of all peoples of Latvia.

[V. Semenov] The organizing committee proclaimed the forum's motto—"Latvia is our common home." This says a lot, but isn't it said too loudly?

[A.V. Gorbunov] That depends on how you interpret the motto and how you relate to it. After all, I just said that the forum will certainly not be able to give answers to all the painful questions of interethnic relations and will not solve all problems in one stroke. And so the motto must be interpreted as the direction of protracted, laborious, and extremely delicate work rather than a fleeting slogan. The multiethnic make-up of our republic took shape historically and that is today's reality which must certainly be taken into account in practical matters and in theoretical constructs. It is also a reality that we all want to live better and we want our children to swim in a clean sea and run barefoot through fresh meadows. So we must make our common concern about our common home a reality. If all peoples of the republic become equally concerned about the fate of this land, then I believe that a great number of the problems of interethnic relations will be solved. I hope very much that the forum becomes a big step toward unity on this basis.

The organizing committee is now working to insure that this thesis is substantiated and developed above all in the reports of the scientific workers and responsible people who are working on the questions of the development of ethnic relations. There will be two or three co-reports on each problem so that the same problem will be covered from the viewpoints of representatives of various peoples living in Latvia. From a scientific point of view and in the form of a dialog, of course. At the meeting it was particularly emphasized that everything must be done to insure that the forum does not become a dialog between the main groups of the population—the Latvians and the Russians. The representatives of these peoples at the meeting of the organizing committee expressed their readiness to give some of the mandates to groups of the national minorities. This proposal was supported. But for the most part the make-up of the delegates will be proportional to the make-up of the republic's population, for progress will be made not only according to the cultural societies of nationality groups which have already been formed organizationally, but also according to the territorial principle and with consideration of the number and make-up of the inhabitants.

[V. Semenov] Will the International Front of Working People of Soviet Latvia, which is now being formed in the republic, be represented at the forum, and what is your personal attitude toward it?

[A.V. Gorbunov] The republic's Supreme Soviet should represent the interests of all nationalities and all social strata of the republic. And it should not only represent them but also protect them. But in a democratic way, of course. Therefore, if the International Front is formed and expresses the desire, it will be represented at the forum. But we must bear in mind that peoples of Latvia

rather than social organizations per se will be represented at the forum, so the International Front, just like the Popular Front, will not be represented as a separate formation. However, that does not mean that representatives of social organizations cannot express the viewpoint of their organization at the forum. As for my personal attitude toward the International Front, I will say one thing: of course we would all like there to be a unified movement for restructuring in the republic, but if that has not happened and if this is the reality, then we must deal with that reality. For example, the television debate between the Latvian Popular Front and the International Front that took place the other day affirms this reality. The constructive actions which unite the republic's entire community in support of restructuring rather than acts which cause mutual accusations and grievances are the main thing; and the interests of the entire population demand that it is precisely these priorities which must be acknowledged.

[V. Semenov] The population is making serious charges against the mass information media and is accusing some editorial offices of trying to resolve nationality problems in a thoughtless and even provocative manner. I had occasion to hear such opinions at the organizing committee meeting as well. How do you regard these statements?

[A.V. Gorbunov] If we look back, critical remarks were also made against me—as a party worker who in the performance of his duty worked on the ideological organizations in the republic, among them the press, radio, and television. I can say right now that these remarks were absolutely justified. Our press seemed to reveal or show the sore points and certain pains. In analyzing a certain article or a certain broadcast which drew complaints, and really analyzing, in most cases one cannot even determine what is said or shown wrongly in it. It seems that everything is correct. But the form in which the material is presented is another matter—whether it is in a form which unites or divides or even offends. And it seems to me that those who say that at times there was too little which united people will be right. There was too much ardor and too little delicacy. And this does not relate to any particular broadcast or any particular newspaper. I think that it happened that way because each one tried to cry out its pain and took offense that a colleague or simply a reader and the audience of a different nationality did not understand this pain. Not many people thought about the form in which this pain was expressed. But when grievances were expressed, the pain merely became more intense: how can it be that they do not understand us? I personally have always adhered to this formula: if I speak and I am not understood and after the speech people did not understand, I blame only myself. I am certain that our mass information media should behave in that way too. Then they will find a common language both with their audience and with readers of all categories and, what is quite important, with one another.

[V. Semenov] Anatoliy Valeryanovich, those are all my questions. But perhaps you yourself want to say something to the readers.

[A.V. Gorbunov] First, I would like to tell people that the organizing committee is interested in having people who are notable for constructiveness in resolving problems and involvement in the common cause working in the committee. Therefore, despite the fact that the Presidium confirmed the organizing committee, we have been given the right to fill it with people who are really trying through their labor to make a contribution to preparations for the forum of the peoples of Soviet Latvia.

And this is the second thing. I think as early as 10 November, after the second meeting of the organizing committee, we will publish the platform of basic questions proposed for study at the forum. And so, I am appealing to the inhabitants of the republic to take a critical attitude toward the program of proposed work. Not to berate it groundlessly and unfairly, but to think about it and make constructive suggestions. This will help introduce at the forum precisely those questions which are of interest to broad strata of the republic's community.

And, finally, in reflecting on consolidating society, I want to stress that the republic's future is being created by our labor and its fate is in our hands. Soviet Latvia will be just as strong and prosperous as these hands are strong and gentle. Without unity in the name of the common goal we will be unable to enrich our own diversity or build a common home. I would very much hope that every inhabitant of the republic will think about this today and act in accordance with it.

[V. Semenov] Thank you for the interview.

**Popular Front Solicits Public Participation**  
18000204 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
5 Nov 88 p 3

[Text of "Appeal of the NFL"]

[Text] In order for all peoples living in Latvia to participate as broadly as possible in the forum of peoples of the republic which is being convened on 10-11 December, and so that representatives of each people can successfully begin work to create a model of joint living and development of the cultures of the different peoples of Latvia and to solve the particular nationality problems on a state basis, the Latvian Popular Front's initiative group on organizing the forum of the peoples of the republic appeals to each person who wishes to, before 25 November to take part in formulating the proposals which will be used as a basis for the forum documents as well as the decrees and laws of the republic's Supreme Soviet. In order to help create the cultural societies and clubs of the different peoples and develop the particular nationality programs as well as objective representation



at the forum, we ask you to give the proposals to the coordinators of the programs or the representatives of the societies and clubs which have already been created:

Livonians—Valda Shuvtsane, telephone: 55-40-33.

Estonians and Finns—Tenu Karma, telephone: 28-73-60, after 1800 hours.

Belorussians—Ayya Latse, telephone: 51-96-66, after 1900 hours.

Lithuanians—Vida and Valdemar Didaitis, telephone: 42-87-76.

Poles—Ita Kozakevicha, telephone: 37-44-10.

Ukrainians—Lyudmila Grinchuk, telephone: 34-55-38, Lyudvig Bramberg, home telephone: 34-28-80.

Hungarians, Spaniards, Germans, and other nationalities of Europe—Yanis Danoss, telephone: 26-68-94, after 1800 hours. Address: 226057, Riga, Aglonas, 56.

Crimean and Kazan Tatars, Bashkirs, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, and Kazakhs—Refat Chubarov, telephone: 46-23-17, during working hours.

Jews—Ruta Shats-Maryash, telephone: 37-22-42, from 1700 hours to 2000 hours, telephone: 28-95-80.

Moldavians and Romanians—Mariya Briyede-Makovey, telephone: 45-43-89.

Latgalians—Marite Tenis, telephone: 20-65-43, from 0900 hours to 1300 hours, Gabriyela Krone, telephone: 36-23-22, from 1600 hours to 1900 hours. Write to: 226011, Riga, PO Box 164, Inese Paklone.

Armenians—Babken Stepanyan, telephone: 37-86-13.

Russians—Tatyana Arshavskaya. Write to: 226029, Riga, PO Box 164.

#### **Slyunkov Comments on Lithuanian Political, Economic Reform**

18000249 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
13 Nov 88 pp 1,3

[ELTA report entitled: "Restructuring Is the Living Creativity of the Masses"]

[Text] As previously reported, on 11 November a meeting took place between N. N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the employees of the Vilnius Heating Equipment Plant imini 50th Anniversary of the USSR Association. It was lively and informal in nature. Everyone who wanted to speak was given the opportunity to do so: in numerous questions and notes the enterprise's workers asked for

explanations regarding a number of important current problems pertaining to the country's development and the implementation of the economic reform and political transformations.

In his speech, N. N. Slyunkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, answered questions of concern to the working people.

Your plant, he said, is known by the whole country. I have already visited you, and I have the opportunity to compare. Today it is really a major, leading enterprise. Along with others built during the years of the Soviet regime, it determines the present-day industrial character of the republic.

What is important is something else. The association's employees include representatives of 24 nationalities. Here Lithuanians and Russians, Poles and Belorussians—in short, a multinational collective—work side by side. They work harmoniously and smoothly. That is just the way things should be in our country. We are persuaded on the basis of many examples that it is precisely in multinational worker collectives that the sense of genuine proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism is best instilled and manifested.

We have just marked the 71st anniversary of Great October. We have summed up the results of what has been done. And since April 1985 a good deal has been done. One can state that the process of the country's economic reinvigoration and its turn toward the social needs of society have begun.

In the first three years of the five-year period the USSR's national income has risen by 11.4 percent through the increase in labor productivity. The production of consumer goods has been increasing at priority rates.

In 1986-1988, 385 million cubic meters of housing will be opened for occupancy, which is 9 percent more than called for in the five-year plan. Assignments for the opening of schools, hospitals and other facilities in the social sphere are being overfulfilled.

We will soon celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet regime in Lithuania. In this connection it is pertinent to recall what unification within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has given our country's peoples.

Over the years of the Soviet regime a rapid economic upswing of your republic has begun. Right now the Lithuanian SSR occupies a prominent place in the country's unified multinational complex. The republic has a powerful industrial and scientific potential. Machinery and instrument manufacturing, the radio-technology, electrical-equipment and electronics industries, the chemical industry, and other industrial branches have been developing dynamically.

Your successes in agriculture are well known. The republic has the country's highest per capita level of meat and milk production. In these indices you surpass Latvia and Estonia.

The Lithuanian SSR has deep economic ties with other republics. Supplying them with the products of the agroindustrial complex and the machine-tool, instrument and electrical-equipment industries, it relies, in turn, on interrepublic deliveries to satisfy practically all of its needs for fuel and nonferrous metals, about 80 percent of its need for ferrous metals, and more than half of its need for machinery products.

The republic's economic successes are the result of the skillful management of its economy and its effective participation in the all-union division of labor, and the result of the selfless labor of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, including your labor, comrades.

This is the result of the implementation of Leninist nationalities policy. It has not always been consistent. There have been some mistakes, which we are presently working energetically to rectify. The party sees the path to the full resolution of the nationalities question in friendship among peoples.

Socialism can fully disclose its potential in the Soviet land only on the path of the harmonious combination of the interests of each nationality and each union republic with the common interests of the entire Soviet people.

New opportunities for economic growth have been opened up by the radical economic reform. The shifting of enterprises and organizations to full cost accounting is under way. Experience is being gained in working under the terms of leasing and contracts. Cooperative and individual enterprise is being expanded.

The CPSU Central Committee sees our central economic agencies' most important task to lie in drawing correct lessons from the experience that has been gained and taking them into account in drawing up plans and forming the conception of economic and social development up until 2005, and the 13th Five-Year Plan. It is important that all work on developing a modern structure of the economy be organically tied in with the consistent improvement of the socialist system of economic management.

The basic objective of the restructuring the economic mechanism, as provided in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's June 1987 Plenum, is to enter the 13th Five-Year Plan with a new planning and management system. In 1988-1990 the shifting of enterprises to full cost accounting and self-management is to be completed. The reform of the pricing system is to be completed. The financial system is to be converted to a normative basis. A fundamental restructuring of banks' work is to be carried out, and they are to be shifted to

cost accounting. By and large, the replacement of centralized material and technical supply by multichannel, wholesale trade in the means of production is to be carried out. Measures in the first stage of the restructuring of the organizational structure of management and the replacement of obsolete normative acts are to be completed.

Consequently, by the beginning of the 13th Five-Year Plan the foundations of an integral system of economic management will be formed that will ensure the full application of the USSR's laws on the state enterprise and on cooperatives in the USSR.

In the 13th Five-Year Plan wider use will be made of the second model of cost accounting, whereby the effect of the dependence of the remuneration for labor on end results will manifest itself to a greater degree. Leasing relations on a contractual basis in industry and agriculture will receive development.

The transition will be carried out from centralized normative rates for the distribution of cost-accounting revenues and the formation of the wage fund to a system of regulating them on the basis of taxation. The success and effectiveness of the new economic system depend to a critical extent on the material and financial balance of the economy. Fundamental measures are to be carried out for the financial reinvigoration of our national economy.

Abandonment of the gross-output approach in drawing up plans requires concentration not on the overall growth rates of production but on their actual content and the actual satisfaction of Soviet people's needs.

The reform, as you know, began with the basic unit—enterprises and associations. Starting next year practically all enterprises in the material-production sphere will be working on full cost accounting.

Enterprises that have converted to cost accounting have improved their fulfillment of contractual commitments. Their rates of increase in profits are higher than at enterprises that have not shifted to the new conditions. It is noteworthy that genuinely economic factors have become the main source of the increase in profits. The rate of reduction of the unit-cost of output at these enterprises is also higher than for industry as a whole.

That can also be clearly seen in the republic's performance results.

Behind all these processes lie the logic of the reform and its normal effects. Economic relations are coming into play, and voluntarism and ignorant rule by dint of arbitrary administrative power are receding into the past.

At the same time, it is obvious that the new economic mechanism has not yet become a real factor in the shift to a new quality of economic growth everywhere.

The reason for such a situation, of course, does not lie in the new mechanism itself, as people sometimes try to claim. The whole problem, comrades, lies in the forms and methods with which it is applied, in the actions of the people who are carrying it out in practice from bottom to top.

The work of enterprises' internal subdivisions is usually not yet oriented toward end results, and the potential for stimulating enterprising work on the part of labor collectives, brigades, sectors and shops has not yet been tapped. The inertness of economic services and the conservatism of economic executives frequently stifle independence and reduce the meaning of the principles of self-management and full cost accounting to naught. And, I think, for this reason it is no accident that many collectives, to all intents and purposes, have not exercised the rights specified in the Law on the Enterprise and easily yield to pressure from the ministries.

I want to emphasize that at the present time every enterprise, proceeding from its own capabilities and conditions, should itself work out its own system of effective economic operation, using everything that from the experience of others that it finds useful and advantageous.

Such a new form of organizing production as leasing is especially effective. In order to remove all the obstacles from the path toward the rapid development of leasing relations everywhere, a decision has been made to prepare a special law on leasing. It will be extended to all branches of the economy. The law will define the procedures for establishing the duration of a lease and the amounts of firm rates of payment for a lease, taking into account the interests of both the budget and labor collectives.

I will also stress the major political significance of our practical task, which consists in providing the utmost support for assiduous economic managers who boldly undertake justifiable economic risk in the interests of their collectives and society as a whole, and in persistently working to develop the democratic elective principle of choosing and assigning such personnel.

I should note that the 19th Party Conference also clearly identified the conservatism of our economic legal system. It is, to a considerable extent, oriented not toward democratic or economic, but toward bureaucratic, administrative methods of management with their numerous prohibitions and petty regulation.

The reform of our economic legislation should encompass a large block of legal norms, especially those that pertain to socialist ownership, planning and labor, tax and other relations.

The question of the economic management of scientific and technical progress has also entered full onto the agenda. This problem is complex. No one has any ready-made formulas yet. But the main way is clear—science should be on the basis of cost accounting. Forward progress here is proceeding slowly.

The mechanism of full cost accounting, to which the majority of research and design organizations have already been shifted, should be thoroughly and fully worked out. Whether our country is to be an advanced technological power is in many respects determined by how the process of integrating research and production goes.

Research and production associations and interbranch scientific and technological complexes should become a living habitat for applied science. Every instance of its divorce from production ends in the imitation of scientific creativity and is fraught with sterility and bureaucratic asphyxiation.

I would also like to draw attention to problems connected with preparation for the price reform. This problem, to use Lenin's words, is an extremely complex one. It is with good reason that it has been so actively and heatedly discussed among the people and by the mass media. Anxiety and agitation are understandable here. After all, prices policy not only affects the development of the national economy but also directly touches on the interests of every family.

In this connection the Central Committee is demanding that our economic-management agencies take a comprehensive and thoroughly considered approach. Emphasis is being placed on preventing a lowering of the people's living standards.

N. N. Slyunkov, in speaking on the republic's untapped potential for economic growth, went on to note that its research and production potential is far from being fully utilized. Work on resource conservation has been insufficiently intensive, and material-intensiveness has been rising.

The rise in the capital-manpower ratio has been considerably faster than the increase in labor productivity. Newly commissioned facilities have been slow to be brought up to rated capacity. The proportion of capital investments that goes for the technical reequipment and reconstruction of existing enterprises remains low.

Unfortunately, nonproductive expenditures and losses have also been increasing. The ecological situation is becoming more complicated. Disproportions in socioeconomic development have also been slow to be eliminated. To a considerable extent, all this is the result of a discrepancy between established methods of centralized management of the economies of republics and regions and the new conditions of economic operation.



At the present time the task is to make the most intelligent use possible of natural, material and labor resources and the specific climatic features of each republic, and to include their potential in the all-union potential in the most rational way possible. This will undoubtedly benefit both each region and republic and our entire state.

The concern is with territorial cost accounting. The question of it, as you know, was raised at the 19th Party Conference. This question is far from simple. It requires careful and thorough treatment.

The new mechanism of economic relations between the center and the territories is geared to last many years. Excessive haste here can only cause harm. But we also must not delay, of course.

The preparation of appropriate decisions is already under way. It is being done on a democratic basis through the open comparison of views and opinions. In the near future an analysis and discussion of the new mechanism's principal areas will be carried out in the USSR Council of Ministers. The chairmen of the republic Councils of Ministers will also participate in it.

The new economic mechanism of regional management is intended to ensure the interest of the soviets of people's deputies in the attainment of high end performance results by the enterprises and organizations located within their territories. The amounts of resources allocated for the social and economic development of regions will depend directly on this.

The restructuring of the management of the country's economy, while not removing responsibility from the branch ministries, is shifting to the republics and the local level the center of gravity of work on satisfying people's need for goods and services and balancing the population's monetary income and its expenditures. A number of other economic-management functions will also shift to the regions.

For all the importance and urgency of the problems of setting up territorial cost accounting, they are only part of the fundamental objective of the economic reform—to awaken the initiative of each working person and develop people's interest in raising labor productivity.

This objective cannot be accomplished without the broadest possible development of intraproduction cost accounting. It economically motivates all a collective's members to work for the common cause and overall results, since the pay of a worker, brigade or shop is made directly dependent on the final product, its quality, the amount of material resources used, and the timeliness and regularity of deliveries to related subdivisions.

Also of considerable importance is the fact that the introduction of cost accounting is an essential condition for the democratization of production and the self-management of labor collectives. And many comrades with whom we have talked at your plant share that approach.

I should say that not everything has been going smoothly in your collective. Equipment is in many respects obsolete, there is a shortage of production and storage areas, and not everything is in order with material and technical supply and norm setting. And that has a negative effect on cost accounting.

You also have many problems to solve in the social sphere. And here the more successfully cost accounting goes at your plant, the faster you will solve your urgent problems, including housing problems.

During the extremely short time of my stay in the republic, continued N. N. Slyunkov, a good many questions have been asked concerning the draft laws that have been submitted for broad public discussion on amendments to the Constitution and the election of USSR people's deputies. In this connection, I want to say the following.

The basic areas of the radical reform of our political system were defined, as you know, by the 19th Party Conference. The reform is intended to more fully disclose the potential of democracy and enhance the effectiveness of all our public institutions. It will make profound changes in all spheres of social relations and give them a new democratic content.

Its cornerstone is the clear-cut division of functions between party and state agencies. That means that the party should disclose its full creative potential as socialist society's political vanguard, and the soviets—their potential as fully empowered representatives bodies of the Soviet people.

The draft laws are aimed at changing the provisions of the USSR Constitution that pertain, first and foremost, to the organization and activities of the bodies of state authority and management, as well as to the reform of judicial bodies. The broad public discussion of the draft laws on amendments and additions to the Constitution and on the election of people's deputies is supposed to create the conditions for implementation of the first stage of the political reform. What is intended is to introduce into the Constitution only those changes on the basis of which it is proposed to carry out the reorganization of the supreme bodies of authority. Other important tasks, such as the harmonization of relations between the USSR and the union republics, and the status of the union and autonomous republics, will be accomplished at subsequent stages of the political transformations. It is intended to expand their rights and capabilities in various spheres of economic, sociopolitical and cultural life.

The CPSU Central Committee has considered the question of preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum "On the Improvement of Internationality Relations in the USSR," which will be held in the middle of 1989. The CPSU Central Committee's resolution stresses that under the conditions of restructuring, the democratization of society, and the creation of a law-based state, the tasks of improving internationality relations are assuming special importance and urgency.

It is necessary to act vigorously and remove acute problems that can complicate the situation, especially in the social sphere and in the development of national culture and language, N. N. Slyunkov stressed. It is necessary not to lose the initiative in raising and solving pressing problems, and to more boldly go to labor collectives and openly talk with people.

It is understandable that the improvement of constitutional legislation is a matter that takes time and is not to be handled according to any individual's desire or willful decision. It is a complex, objectively conditioned process. Some things have to be put off in order to be carefully considered.

What that is fundamentally new is being proposed to be put into the USSR Constitution at the present time?

First of all, the idea is being implemented of the real representation of the broadest strata of the population in the country's supreme bodies of authority. In the system of the soviets, completely new bodies are being established: the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and union- and autonomous-republic congresses of people's deputies.

In these most authoritative forums of the representatives of all classes, social groups and social strata, the main issues of our life will be discussed openly, freely and in a businesslike fashion. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies will become the supreme body of state authority. The resolution of the most important constitutional questions, determination of the basic directions of the USSR's domestic and foreign policies, and the confirmation of long-range state plans and all-union programs of economic and social development will be its exclusive prerogative. Its jurisdiction will also include the adoption of decisions on matters pertaining to the makeup of the USSR and, consequently, the strengthening of the unity and fraternal cohesiveness of all our national-state formations.

I want to emphasize that the new provisions of the Constitution not only do not reduce but significantly expand the rights of the union republics.

The status of a USSR people's deputy becomes incompatible with certain official positions. The introduction of that principle is a necessary condition for the strict and consistent division of functions and responsibilities among the legislative, executive and judicial authorities.

The shifting of the center of gravity in legislative work to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the union- and autonomous-republic supreme soviets is of fundamental importance. This will put an end to the practice whereby social relations are regulated chiefly by ukases of the presidiums of the supreme soviets, decrees of the councils of ministers, and departmental instructions, while laws occupy an extremely limited place in the state's entire legislative activity. After all, it is a fact that at the present time tens of times as many ukases as laws are promulgated at the union level. That, to put it bluntly, does not accord with our notions of a law-based state.

After all, the chief task associated with the formation of a law-based state is to affirm in society the rule of laws ensuring the harmonious combination of democracy and order and of citizens' rights and duties. In this connection, laws, as they should be in a socialist society, will be drawn up in a fully democratic fashion, through the comparison of various concepts, stands and views, publicly and openly, and following broad and comprehensive discussion.

For the first time in our Soviet practice a Constitutional Oversight Committee is being created. Its main purpose is to oversee the consistent implementation of the USSR Constitution in the activities of all state agencies and public organizations.

The formation of a law-based state also includes the restructuring of the activities of the justice agencies. The interests of every citizen, society and the state should be dependably defended.

Now for a word about the draft USSR law on the election of people's deputies. It differs in many respects from existing legislation. And the point is not just a change in election procedures. It codifies a number of new provisions aimed at the development of democratic principles in the preparation for and conducting of elections. This will permit voters to deliberately and independently determine their representatives in bodies of state authority.

The election districts will be determined not on the basis of population size, as previously, but on the basis of the number of voters. This approach will fairly reflect the demographic situation in the country, since the share of the population not having the right to vote (i.e., persons who have not reached 18 years of age) varies among the different republics. Therefore, the draft law proposes a new approach, which will not infringe on the interests of a single republic.

It is also proposed to set up the procedures for nominating candidates for deputies in election districts in a new way. The nomination of several candidates for a single seat will become the dominant practice.

In accordance with decisions of the 19th Party Conference, it is stipulated that, in addition to elections by election districts, one-third of the USSR people's deputies, i.e., 750 deputies, will be elected from all-union public organizations.

The greatest representation—100 deputies each—is established for the CPSU, the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. They are guarantors of the realization of their fundamental interests, guarantors of socialism.

The representation from other public organizations and associations will be determined at congresses, conferences and plenums.

Candidates for deputy may present a platform of their future activities. Naturally, this platform should not contradict the USSR Constitution or Soviet laws.

In general, all changes in the USSR Constitution have the same political orientation as our revolutionary restructuring. We want for our society to have more socialism and for the interests of the working class and all working people to be realized to the maximum extent.

The publication of the draft laws for broad public discussion indicates that our society has entered a new phase of its socialist renewal.

Right now intensive work is also under way on many other issues pertaining to the political reform.

The preparation has begun of laws on local self-government and the local economy, the status of people's deputies, the press, the rights of trade unions, young people, volunteer societies, grass-roots public agencies and other grass-roots associations, freedom of conscience, the basic principles of criminal legislation, the rights and duties of the Soviet militia, and others.

Thus, comrades, to characterize the leading tendency in our political life in the briefest possible manner, it is the increasingly broad participation of the working people of all nationalities in the management of public and state affairs. Deputies will be closer to the people, and the people will be closer to its deputies. That is the principled line of our Leninist party. I am confident that it is shared by all who are assembled here and by all citizens of the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, N. N. Slyunkov thanked those assembled for their warm greeting and active participation in the discussion of issues affecting important aspects of the life of the country and republic.

### **Slyunkov Meets with Lithuanian Scientists, Economic Leaders**

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[ELTA report: "Economic Reform at the Center of Attention"]

[Text] As has been reported, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary N.N. Slyunkov met with scholars, economists and executives of industrial enterprises of the republic on November 12 at the Lithuanian Party Central Committee.

N.N. Slyunkov spoke at the meeting. He said that our aim is a common one: to accelerate restructuring. The whole country is restructuring along with the party Central Committee, the members of the Politburo and the secretaries of the Central Committee, and they are leaving their offices more and more and meeting with specialists, scholars and the people and together analyzing the processes of the renewal of society. You know that if we solve economic problems in the country and raise the efficiency of social production, many other tasks will be resolved, the speaker stated. Questions of economics and scientific and technical progress are therefore the main ones today. It has unfortunately come to pass that during the years of stagnation we were unable to utilize all opportunities for scientific and technical progress. Economics and scientific and technical progress have still not established solid ties—that is our greatest omission. Naturally, both scientific and technical progress and science are also in need of substantial restructuring and improvement. All the conditions exist for the resolution of those tasks. Raw materials are enormous, a lofty scientific and production potential has been created and many skilled personnel have been trained. The old stereotypes of thinking, conservative methods, those deformations that seriously hindered and are hindering the utilization of the potential of socialism, have not permitted us to move on to higher levels.

The speaker further emphasized that since the April Plenum, the development of the socio-economic sphere of our lives has accelerated considerably. The whole country, all scholars and economists, took part in the preparation of draft economic reform, and such reform has been prepared. One of its chief constituent elements is the conversion of the whole economy to full economic accountability [*khozrashchet*]. The State Enterprise (Association) law has also been adopted. It is essential to grant enterprises complete independence and the right and opportunity for self-management and to reveal the possibilities and potential of each enterprise. We should make the person the true master, not just the formal one, of the means of production, and develop and incorporate such industrial relations as would best meet the interests of each person and of society overall.



No small role in this area is allotted to the development of the possibilities for regional economic accountability. The first steps have been taken. An appreciable decentralization in economics and planning has been carried out. We are assuming that the functions of central planning should remain at the center, while its work should reflect the interests of all of society and those areas without which the solution of the major problems of economic restructuring is inconceivable.

N.N. Slyunkov spoke of the state of information science in the country. In his opinion, the society of the future is an information society. One can imagine that by the year 2000, we and our children will be living in a society of all-encompassing information. Not a single person, not a single citizen, even a schoolchild, will be useful, will fulfill completely his social function, if he does not know how to make use of the means of information. It is thus essential to form such a level as early as today. This question was considered by the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo at the beginning of 1987. A truly revolutionary decision was made to develop microelectronics and microprocessor technology. The scale is such that it is, if we think in old categories, even difficult to imagine. This is a very important area of the work.

Qualitatively new productive forces are needed to develop and accomplish these promising and major tasks. Forces on which the results of our economic activity will depend. This will naturally require very profound and serious structural changes in the economy. We are thus today seeking out ways of distributing functions and tasks among the center and the territories. The chief task is to free the center as much as possible of functions and matters that are not characteristic of it, so as to mobilize all forces for an analysis of the prospective problems and targets and to be engaged in economic policy. A draft of the concepts of socio-economic development and scientific and technical progress to the year 2005 has thus now been prepared. Three versions have been prepared, and they will be discussed at the upcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

N.N. Slyunkov then spoke of expanding and developing regional economic accountability and granting greater independence to regions. A commission on improving management that has been created in the country has already been at work for half a year. It has prepared individual documents on economic independence, or more precisely, guidelines, that the whole republic will receive on Monday. Major experiments will be conducted at first in which the Baltic republics, Belorussia, Moscow, Sverdlovsk Oblast and the Tatar ASSR will all take part. Starting in 1991, after an analysis of the results of these experiments, the conditions for the accomplishment of the conversion of each oblast and kray as well as the national economy overall to full economic accountability and self-financing will be ready.

N.N. Slyunkov also dwelled on the accomplishments of the republic. He noted that Lithuania has been working dynamically and in stable fashion for a long time, and its national income has doubled over 18 years. The results of the last two years of work in restructuring have been a great success. The national economy of Lithuania has never seen such high growth rates in industry, national income and other economic indicators as over the last two five-year plans. Construction work has been going well. It must be noted, however, that the targets that were adopted for the current five-year plan were somewhat diminished. Evidently, inertia and an old, conservative attitude toward the plan have had their way.

But you have taken the correct position in life and practical matters. It seems, therefore, that you will not only fulfill all the plan targets of the current five-year plan, but overfulfill them as well. This is a serious guarantee of the fulfillment of the important target set by the party—to double the national income of our national economy and the potential of industrial production by the year 2000.

Also taking part in the discussions was Academician E. Vilkas, director of the Economics Institute of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences.

We proceeded in developing the concept of republic economic accountability, on the one hand, from the fundamental things known in the economic and social sciences and, on the other hand, from the fundamental decisions made at the 19th Party Conference, he said. The main thing in this concept is the person, everything is measured against the person. And one thus cannot ever forget about the person in implementing any state economic or other sort of restructuring, about his interests, we must trace how his interests are reflected and how they can be used for the good of society. And both the person and the organization in which he works should be economically independent, i.e. have certain economic rights and bear economic responsibility. But a person does not only want to earn more, to satisfy his interests, but also to be within definite social surroundings, a social infrastructure. And this is manifested in the interests of the city and the rayon.

The academician then spoke of internationalism. Of the fact that national interests are accomplished in fellowship with other nations, rendering aid to each other. He said that the all-union market should become the economic foundation of the country. This signifies that all enterprises operate independently within this large nationwide market. The opportunities for the republic in the selection of economic partners should thus not be limited. The market begins right here, and not with price formation, material and technical supply or other reforms.

[N.N. Slyunkov] A mechanism for price formation must be created nonetheless. Prices should be oriented toward socially necessary spending. Fixed prices are incorrect—a factor that could interfere with the appearance of the product on the market.

[E. Vilkas] If there is no market, there is nowhere to get socially necessary spending from.

[N.N. Slyunkov] The mechanism for interaction must be determined for this. Material commodity values on the market today are less than the money in circulation. Until we balance these processes, we will be unable to set about forming a socialist market.

[E. Vilkas] What does balance mean? First of all, if we have so much money and so many products, we can set any prices and nothing will happen. Certain prices will go up, and others down. But now, when we have several tens of billions of rubles not supplied with goods, all goods should be made more expensive by just that amount in setting prices—demand should correspond to supply. This money must be withdrawn or frozen in order for this not to occur. This could be done, for example, via raising interest rates at savings banks so that people do not use that money, or issue stock at many industrial enterprises for which people will receive a corresponding percentage of profits in exchange for the purchase of it. When the money is withdrawn, the shortage of goods is felt less.

[N.N. Slyunkov] But this is camphor for the patient. A heart patient gets bad, give him camphor. But what next?

[E. Vilkas] Next the mechanism of economic operation begins to operate, and growth in production begins.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Here we have begun to expand production, and wages in the country have increased by nine percent. This had never happened before...

[E. Vilkas] That is because we still do not have economic accountability, and wages are growing faster than production.

[N.N. Slyunkov] And what's our mistake here?

[E. Vilkas] Today the enterprises are operating according to the first model of economic accountability, which, truthfully speaking, is not yet economic accountability. True economic accountability is the second model.

[N.N. Slyunkov] But the second model also does not guarantee us a good correlation between wages and labor productivity.

[E. Vilkas] This could be regulated through fund deductions. If we increase somewhat the percentage of deductions intended for retooling production and accumulation, the share going for wages will be less. But it cannot be regulated from above: if production grows to infinity, so do wages.

The discussion then moved on to ecology. N.N. Slyunkov said that it is essential for the resolution of ecological issues that all enterprises on the territory of the republic make the appropriate payments. E. Vilkas

added that an agreement among the republics and programs among the republics are needed for that, since ecology goes beyond the borders of the republics.

[N.N. Slyunkov] That is why I posed the question of whether this problem can be solved at the local level alone. A mechanism.

[E. Vilkas] There should be a nationwide mechanism that would at the same time be based on the independence of the republics and on treaty principles...

[N.N. Slyunkov] On a very great independence, since only on the spot can the extant situation be evaluated objectively and the causes for the processes that are transpiring be revealed.

E. Vilkas also touched on one of the chief topics of the independence of the republics—the topic of property. He said that it is not important what we call this property—republic or union. It is important that we be able to make use of it, while the deductions and taxes for these funds would go to the republic budget. And there will not be all of the union-subordinate enterprises and organizations that there are today in the republic. We perceive republic subordination not as subordination to the ministries of the republic, but subordination to the laws of the republic. It is noted in general that there will be one ministry of industry in Lithuania, which will support all industrial enterprises on a contract basis.

[N.N. Slyunkov] All the same you have not quite set forth clearly how you conceive of property. Today it is featureless, separated from the person. Until property is associated with the person, he will have no vested interest in its preservation, modernization or improvement. Because it is "no one's." How can it be made so that the rayon thinks about the rayon, Vilnius about Vilnius and Lithuania about Lithuania? Listening to you, it seems after property is handed over to the republic, we will get up tomorrow morning and all will be different. I have a different opinion.

Take your republic. In the face of all the positive evaluations—you are perhaps the sole republic in the union in which there is no interest in issues of material expenditures in production, in reducing materials intensiveness. Where is the sense of transferring ownership?

[E. Vilkas] The land, the resources, the timber—those are the property of the republic. As for productive capital, it is clear that that is at the disposal of the labor collective. But, in the first place, we must be concerned that people not eat up that property. They could live very well at one enterprise, then move on to another that has not been consumed yet, then to a third. There is probably no other way than to make these enterprises joint-stock property so that the collective is investing its own money in them. This does not exist at the moment.

[N.N. Slyunkov] And the development and incorporation of price reforms and the development of scientific standards really won't remove all of these obstacles?

[E. Vilkas] I don't believe in any scientific standards. They are always bureaucratic. The only standards should be those that are set by the Supreme Soviet. The mechanism is ultimately important here.

[N.N. Slyunkov] How can such a mechanism be devised? You haven't interested me yet, nothing will come of it. We were paying street cleaners 80 rubles, for example. They didn't sweep the street because they were paid too little. We let them sweep two sectors and get 160 rubles. They got it and the streets were still dirty. We didn't create any mechanism. You say give us independence and freedom and we will solve all the problems. I don't agree. Ecology, for example. This is a problem for all of science, and it cannot be divided into pieces. There is a state system and a comprehensive approach to the solution of ecological problems. These objectives are financed, developed and implemented with the aid of all-union state funds and resources.

In concluding his presentation, E. Vilkas said that the more we argue, the more we will be convinced of the correctness of the republic concept. Nonetheless, when the discussion concerns the economic mechanism of the union, the academic centers and the scholar-administrators of the center play too large a role, which imparts too much of an administrative cast to these solutions.

Speaking next was LiSSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman and LiSSR Gosplan Chairman B. Zaykauskas. He proposed discussing the issue of enterprises, since they are the basis of republic economic accountability. The removal of a group of enterprises from all-union subordination, he noted, should not lead to such subordination of any republic ministry. We are struck by the process begun in Leningrad of uniting science, production and other links into a single whole. A group of directors of republic enterprises went there, and they are now sharing their impressions.

R. Purtulis, director of the Panevezhis Ekranas Plant, had a high regard for the work of the Leningrad production workers in creating intersector associations. Their experience must be disseminated in Lithuania as quickly as possible. The more so as the conditions exist for it. "Whereas Leningrad wants to reach 40 percent intersector contacts among these independent enterprises in 3-4 years," said R. Purtulis, "we already have that base, and we could reach 60 percent in 3-4 years." There is also experience. The Elektronika Association, joined by various sectors, ministries and enterprises that have common ties, was created on a public basis in Lithuania. The Shilyalis television, which is competitive in the international market, was the product of their work.

This speaker also noted that there is much unfinished business in this matter. Standards and a fund must be created, and this work is being dragged out.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Give proposals. Consider them in the republic and in the council of ministers, and come forward with these proposals. I want to support this in any way possible, because we have been taking too long and agonizing a path toward the possibility of creating such associations among businesses and sectors. We were somehow unaccustomed to touching the conservative, bureaucratic machinery and, the main thing, coming to a decision, because the question always arises: we are destroying the existing machinery, but will the new one work?

[R. Purtulis] It works there and it will work here.

[N.N. Slyunkov] That's why I'm talking about it. These Leningrad associations have been told that they are completely independent, but subordinate to the machine-building bureau. But the machine-building bureau cannot accomplish the functions of a management organ. When it is just one enterprise, it can be attached to the chairman of the council of ministers, at least. But if there are thousands of them? In destroying the system of ministries, can we shift to new structural approaches and a new structural system through major associations? When I hear that interest in this is being manifested more and more, it becomes clear that life itself has impelled us toward this. So let's have your proposals.

R. Purtulis shared his considerations on price formation and state acceptance, saying that great difficulties are being caused by the creation of joint firms. "We answer as a plant for this matter, but why should I waste three months on quite unnecessary calculations?" he asked.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Send all these materials to me so that I can review them and investigate. As for state acceptance, each of us is probably aware that raising the technical and technological levels to the level of world achievements through its application alone is unrealistic. Today this is a forced measure, but it is time to consider all the positive and negative processes that are transpiring in connection with it and draw the correct conclusions.

A. Matulyavichyus, the general director of the Neringa Production Association for cultural supplies, touched on a series of important issues in the independence of enterprises. He said that the leaders of the labor collective are still dependent and are not able to dispose freely of their own resources or pay wages to the collective according to labor. Toys and other items for the people totaling half a million rubles are being manufactured in conjunction with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Representatives of firms from Western countries are also coming, but we are limited in our actions.



"Without waiting for the conversion of the republic to economic accountability, we have proposed a conversion to leasing starting 1 Jan 89 so as to be the first swallow, to work out various elements," said A. Matulyavichyus. "But voices are sounding that we must coordinate with Moscow on many issues again. People have their doubts."

[N.N. Slyunkov] And what if you ceased doubting and made an independent decision? No one in the center will question it, no one will pose any questions, so create your model for leasing procedure. Then review all issues with republic organs.

[A. Matulyavichyus] That is what we wanted to do. Thank you.

[N.N. Slyunkov] As for salaries, it must be your right, of course. But consider the obligatory interconnection between labor productivity and wages. You must form fixed capital and provide for reproduction as well. Resolve these issues in the republic.

Speaking next, the director of the Institute for Agricultural Economics, B. Poshkus, noted that it is now entirely realistic to grant greater rights to the regions and republics and thereby prepare them economically for economic accountability. "We would begin with the system of price formation," the academician said. "There is nothing for us to fear from a market mechanism under the conditions of socialism, since the system of taxation is in the hands of the state. The state should regulate the price system only for natural resources, primary raw materials and, to a certain extent, foodstuffs, and not for intermediate or finished products. The state should also regulate prices for state orders."

[N.N. Slyunkov] This means you feel that market prices could be used for all of agriculture?

[B. Poshkus] Yes. We have studied the experience of many capitalist countries. In Finland, for example, the procurement price is adjusted twice a year. Procurement prices must be adjusted correspondingly with changes in wholesale prices for capital goods.

[N.N. Slyunkov] You are proposing this for the whole country, or as an experiment?

[B. Poshkus] We could do it in the republic. We must try to set food prices according to the law of value and, at the same time, bring them into conformity with the level of wages in the region. Then, finally, we will be able to have a synchronized pricing system. We would also try to bring order to the system of taxation. This could be either rent taxes or taxes on income, and there will be rent relations.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Have your pricing proposals already been approved somewhere or not? What state are they in today? I ask you to present these materials so that I can become more familiar with them.

B. Poshkus further spoke of the usefulness of land improvement in the republic and about cooperation and property. "We in the republic delineate six degrees of personal relations toward property," the academician continued. "In the first place, the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz, the person and purely personal property, then contract relations, when the means of production are consumed by the collective. These relations are warmer. Then, leasing relations, when the means of production are leased by a person, the person becomes an even larger property owner, and then the cooperatives, private subsidiary farming and, finally, individual farming. All of these forms should be in circulation and, most importantly, without clichéd forms. We must permit competition among them. We approve of that form of ownership that will produce the greatest efficiency."

[N.N. Slyunkov] It has been a year already since Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee] approved a new procedure for the conversion of agricultural science to economic accountability. How would you evaluate it?

[B. Poshkus] Positively. It has become much easier for me as director to work, because the scientists are displaying greater initiative in the incorporation of practical recommendations and are seeking clients and opportunities for every topic to be only practical. Less urgent topics are gradually receding.

The general director of the Lithuanian Sigma Production Association, A. Chuplinskis, spoke about the necessity of the independence of the primary level and direct ties with material and technical supply. He did not agree that there should be 3-4 complexes in the republic, similar to the Leningrad ones. It is necessary that all of industry be free of departmental subordination so that it can associate, group itself and be oriented toward a world-market-competitive product. Why can't it be tried, for example, that Lithuania have such conditions as a region?

In discussing property, A. Chuplinskis agreed that stock must be used, the worker must be bound to that which is good, which he uses. It is thus not property that is important today, but rather the problem of how it can best be utilized.

The secretary of the Social Sciences Division of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences, Academician R. Rayatskas, said that people are stopping on the street and asking outright what republic economic accountability is and when it will come.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Economic science should have its say.

[R. Rayatskas] Economists have even published the corresponding documents. The fact that the people are full of enthusiasm to work and evaluate the end results can only be welcomed. A new economic mechanism, in my opinion, must be worked out first of all. There are many examples where young people are making world-class motor-vehicle prototypes, and we can't put them into production.

[N.N. Slyunkov] That is why we are saying that our economics today are unreceptive to scientific and technical progress. We must seek ways so that it becomes receptive, takes in scientific and technical solutions and new technologies.

[R. Rayatskas] We must put a decisive end to the myth that the ministry can be the agent of scientific and technical progress. Scientific and technical progress should proceed not down from above, but namely up from below and spread in the horizontal direction. Scientific thought is being born in a free and creative climate and is spreading, thanks to the new mechanism of economic operation, across the whole national economy. Can't we also be done with sector institutes and make scientific-production associations in their place? The institutes have not justified themselves, there are thousands of them, and there is almost no return.

[N.N. Slyunkov] And how do you look at science in the higher schools, at basic science and its link with production and economics? What proposals do you have here?

[R. Rayatskas] I agree that we must not destroy basic science anyway, but rather support a certain level.

[N.N. Slyunkov] How can we help the higher schools reach progressive levels, so that they operate on the economy in their own most important areas?

[R. Rayatskas] When our cell of the scientific-production association can freely dispose of its own resources and can place orders with science without interference, science will respond with much. After all, science should also have the opportunity of selection, evaluation and funds.

[N.N. Slyunkov] There is also not enough democracy in the realm of science either. The fundamental approach is the topic of the scientific-production association, where science and production, collectives and creativity, are united. I think no one will object to that.

[R. Rayatskas] They are talking about the numbers adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, that, they say, we must double national income by the year 2000, double industrial output. But we must not permit the storming of the highest peaks to become more important than the new economic mechanism.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Of course, after all, earlier everyone looked at everything through the gross indicator, and no one needs that. But this can be achieved through qualitative indicators of economic development, how do you view that?

[R. Rayatskas] I agree completely with Academician L. Abalkin that it is impossible to chase after quality and quantity simultaneously. Preference should be given to one.

[N.N. Slyunkov] L. Abalkin said at the 19th Party Conference that the essence was not quantity, not quantitative factors, but rather qualitative ones. I think we all agree with this. We are now working on, and will soon begin discussing in the party Central Committee and the country, the concepts of development to the year 2005. We must give a social thrust to the further development of the economy, because very many unresolved social problems have accumulated: housing, scientific, cultural, in education and others. Then look at what must be done to saturate the market with consumer goods and food-stuffs, and in the sphere of services or the sphere of science. We have estimated that the social portion of the 13th Five-Year Plan alone will require 26 percent of the growth rate of production. Therefore my advice for you and Comrade L. Abalkin would be put real materials on the table instead of a general and logical approach and discussions. Take a pencil in your hands and calculate, have a look, see if you then come to this conclusion or if serious contradictions arise with your own suggestions. After all, where do the economists find the truth? At the end of a pencil... Take it and count for Lithuania.

[R. Rayatskas] I want to say that 5 percent growth in national income is not always better than 3 percent, and it is foolish to assert this in relation to industry overall. One must not just chase after numbers, one must look at what is behind them.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Completely true.

R. Rayatskas then talked about republic economic accountability, about the problem of money, so as to preserve the impact achieved in the republic.

Speaking next was LiSSR Minister of Finance R. Sikorskis. He acquainted those assembled with the proposed draft of a USSR Council of Ministers decree on republic economic accountability and noted that compensation must be received from the all-union budget for the price differences in meat and milk that go into the all-union fund, that there are as yet not even the elements of economic accountability in finance, but rather simply tightrope walking of budget figures from one shelf to another. He also spoke of the budget for next year, noting that the USSR Budget Law has ascribed to the republic a deficit on the order of 4.8 percent of the total spending for next year. We could possibly cover this deficit ourselves thanks to the income accumulated over the course of this year, but there is another problem in Lithuania that does not exist in the other republics.

We have adopted a law on the rehabilitation of all who were sent outside the borders of the republic in 1941-51, basically by decree of the Ministry of Finance and the corresponding organs located at Moscow center. Now we must find colossal sums of money to compensate for the material losses caused to those families, said R. Sikorskis. About half a million rubles will roughly be required for this. He then proposed the use of the energies of the republic to develop a more efficient tax system that would actually have an effect on production.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor A.I. Milyukov noted the positive shift of Lithuanian scholars in two areas. First, all regarded the all-union market as most important in the mechanism of economic operation and, second, the chief emphasis is being placed on the enterprise and its economic independence. It seems to me that such a continuing emphasis on the republic isolation of ownership of the means of production is not logical, the speaker continued. It will immediately be pushed out, it will not be part of the overall scheme, in nationwide ownership. Emotions are powerfully inflamed, but sensible and logical thinking should predominate nonetheless. It follows from your documents that republic property is what is located on republic territory today. Why—that is, today? The whole country has invested about 40 billion rubles. Why is this republic property?

A second proposal inevitably arises out of this ownership—create an independent currency. In the opinion of Milyukov, this is completely illogical, because the whole world is moving toward a unified currency and a common market. A different currency is a different state.

[E. Vilkas] The economic mechanism begins with independence. You want to force us to do what we do not want to do. And you don't want us to show how we are able to do it. Let's demonstrate, let's answer the questions that are arising in the country.

N.N. Slyunkov thanked those assembled for their active participation in the detailed discussion.

"We place your republic among those that have always done much useful and creative work in the realm of improving and managing the economy," he said in conclusion.

**Slyunkov Question-Answer Session With  
Lithuanian Scientific, Economic Leaders**  
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18 Nov 88 pp 1, 3-4

[Article recounting meeting of Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC and secretary of the CPSU CC, held 14 November: "Scientific-Technical Progress and the Economy"]

[Text] As already reported, on 14 November N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC and

secretary of the CPSU CC, met with representatives of scientific institutions and managers of industrial enterprises.

"Comrades! You know that the April Plenum of the CPSU CC marked the beginning of a new approach to acceleration of scientific-technical progress," N.N. Slyunkov said, addressing those attending the meeting. "An aggressive scientific-technical policy has been worked out. The most important, priority directions in scientific development have been discovered and defined. Decisions have been made to increase stimulation of the most important structural lines of development of science. There has been a definite turnaround in the structure of investments in productive capacity. A portion of the sectoral scientific research institutes have been merged, and more than 500 such scientific-production associations have been formed and 23 intersector scientific-production complexes have been created. A definite integration of science with production is taking place. So that in general things are finally beginning to move. But on the whole there is no basis for us to be satisfied with the results achieved in the sphere of science and technology. Our level still lags behind that of the most advanced countries with respect to a number of the priority directions of scientific-technical progress.

"It has to be said that we still have not corrected the principal reason for this—the economy continues not to be very receptive—and along certain lines is simply not receptive at all—to applying the developments of scientific-technical progress. Developments are being applied slowly. On the whole, the system for planning, management, and organization of scientific-research developments and their application in the economy are also imperfect. An effective economic mechanism is not being developed that would exert pressure for more rapid movement of discoveries to direct application in production.

"Recently, we began to see a disturbing trend toward a reduction of promising spadework. Many attempts have in the meantime been made, of course, to correct the situation—both on the whole and along particular scientific lines—an increase in the allocation of capital investments by various methods, and attempts to supply certain types of equipment and instruments. But so far none of this has been successful, and we cannot at this point say that the results have been favorable. These matters were subjected to a very serious and thorough analysis at the 19th party conference. After the 19th party conference significant steps to improve the situation were also taken, and they are being taken now. Since 1 January of this year 1,200 sectoral scientific-research institutes and design offices have already begun to operate on the basis of cost accounting (khozyaystvenny raschet) and economic independence. Quite recently a decree was adopted on application of this principle in the spheres of academy and VUZ science; that is, a number of practical steps are being taken to support, step up, and develop both basic and applied science."



N.N. Slyunkov gave good marks to the activity of Lithuania's scientists. The republic possesses a rather high scientific-technical potential, with nearly 150 scientific institutions, VUZes, scientific research institutes, and project planning and design organizations. Major research is being done along the priority lines. Our republic's science, he noted, rightly occupies one of the leading places in the country both with respect to the description of the scientific potential and also with respect to the level of research being conducted. But, unfortunately, it has to be said that even it embodies essentially the same deficiencies and the same impediments as our entire science as a whole.

The speaker then spoke about the importance of correct evaluation of the advances of other countries. He observed that with respect to the qualitative level of development of the productive forces a sizable lag is observed today along many lines and in many sectors. An appraisal needs to be made of the level they could reach in 15-20 years with respect to quality, productivity, and technical innovations, and that is where we must aim in order to eliminate the gap.

N.N. Slyunkov noted that the economy's level of quality fully presupposes its development on the basis of scientific-technical progress. Otherwise the economy will not be able to make substantial progress or undergo qualitative change. On the other hand, of course, the economic mechanism must bring about all the conditions so that the economy is receptive to scientific-technical progress and can make use of it. It is the economic mechanism that must bring about the conditions for rapid and qualitative development of scientific-technical progress and for the development of science and technology. But we still have not worked out such a mechanism. This also applies to the radical economic reform. The reform itself has been worked out, but still there is no mechanism for management of that process. This requires a concerted effort of the country's scientists, economists, and specialists.

N.N. Slyunkov invited all the participants in the meeting, all the republic's scientists and specialists, to take an active part in an exchange of opinions and proposals.

Yu.K. Pozhela, president of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences, spoke about the activity and problems of academy science. He noted that the institutes of the academy of sciences are taking an active part in major all-union programs. This is true of research in the field of superconductivity, high-temperature physics, microelectronics, biology, and laser physics. Lithuania's scientists have been successfully taking part in competitions organized by the all-union Academy of Sciences.

A very important new factor has emerged in development of basic science. Academy science is making the transition to a completely different type of financing—of ideas rather than organizations. In his opinion, this would help to raise the level of basic science and increase

the competitive basis in scientific work. Collectives and scientists with interesting ideas will be able to immediately obtain funds to pursue them. But the problem is that the financing procedure has not itself been thoroughly thought through, since reference has had to be made to differing instructions.

One of the fundamental problems is that so far all organizational changes have been subject to strict regulation. For example, the question of setting up a new institute is decided in the USSR Council of Ministers. It would seem, Yu.K. Pozhela noted, that many questions on the organizational level have been excessively centralized, and this is holding back the pace of that movement which is possible under the new financing procedure.

Nor has the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology changed its work style. So far it has been restricting independence and holding back the transition to economic ties.

A shift toward the humanities is now taking place in the science of the country and of the republic. But all we have managed to do in 2 years is to obtain a staff of 20 for the division of culture in the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences, the president noted. Now that institutes have made the transition to cost accounting, is it mandatory to obtain financing through the Committee for Science and Technology? This also applies to questions involving creation of new organizations. The republic's council of ministers would also be entirely able to define the structure of the academy of sciences and to decide questions of creating new institutes.

Yu.K. Pozhela paid a great deal of attention to science's collaboration with production and other scientific institutions, to the development of the social sciences, to the activity of scientific-production associations, and to the creation of cooperatives to solve certain scientific and technical problems.

Yu.K. Pozhela said in conclusion that the Academy of Sciences has been very active in presenting supplements and amendments to the USSR Constitution. It can actually be said that an issue like the republic's statehood has somehow been dissolved in all-union activity. Even now it is rightly said that the republic has lost its statehood in many areas and that in principle this statehood has to be reestablished. There must be more statehood in the republics, and the Union of SSR must be a union of states which have their own constitutions and their own laws. The principle has to be observed that LiSSR laws must be the only effective laws in Lithuanian SSR, and USSR laws must be subject to approval in the republic. The LiSSR Council of Ministers, our government, must have more rights here in their own republic, and these rights have to be set down in the Constitution. It is those rights that will make it possible to solve the problems we have been confronting rapidly and effectively.

Yu.K. Pozhela also touched widely on problems related to organization of cooperatives to solve certain scientific-technical problems and the scant opportunities for unrestricted maneuvering of enterprises which have a large state order.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Under the Law on the Enterprise, enterprises themselves have every right to dispose of all their resources, all their accumulation, independently; they have the right to do that. But the state order? Yes, if we are talking about what it still was last year, then there might be difficulties in this connection. But now on the average in the country the state order comprises between 25 and 50 percent of the entire output in many sectors of the economy. It is higher only for certain products and certain enterprises.... But we have this question under advisement. It is also the right of enterprises to create their own associations. The old ways and conservatism are by inertia holding back these processes, or attempts are being made to defend the interests of the ministries. But I think that after the last discussion we had with economic scientists, we stipulated that an effort had to be made to create associations, scientific-production associations, intersector associations, and large regional associations. And we feel that the more rapidly and broadly the new structure replaces the centralized structure, the greater opportunities we will have for action, and if in the republic there are now any obstacles to that, then send us your requests so that we can take action and help to resolve this problem. It is not precluded that in some places someone is setting up these hurdles. Which means that this process is at present contradictory.

Yu.L. Rusenko, deputy chairman of the LiSSR Council of Ministers: Nikolay Nikitovich, about the state order. You have just said that it is now 20-50 percent: that is actually the case at many plants. But there is also the limit from Gosplan and Gossnab, which is actually a state order as well. And the state order is always getting in the way, like a donkey's ears—now in one form, now in another. I would like you to check this matter out.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Gossnab is issuing a state order?

[Yu.L. Rusenko] Gossnab issues a limit. We have instrumentmakers sitting here, they can confirm it. The state order covers them at 100 percent and more.

[N.N. Slyunkov] We will check this out. Absolutely. A state order may be issued and must only be issued by a single body—Gosplan. Only by Gosplan. And if last year, when we were beginning our first practical experience, Gosplan, as the central planning authority, and also the respective ministries, were actually allowed and given the right to set the state order, beginning with the plan for 1989 we took the right away from the ministry to issue orders. Only Gosplan has the right to issue the order, and no one else. So evidently some sort of violations are occurring.

K.Yu. Klimashauskas, general director of the Scientific-Production Association "Venta," raised urgent questions on increasing the effectiveness of the activity of scientific-production associations.

A.Yu. Kaminskas, general director of the Scientific-Production Association "Termoizolyatsiya," shared his opinions on the directions in which branch science should develop. Until just a few years ago, the Institute "Teploizolyatsiya" operated partially as an appendage of the ministry's bureaucratic apparatus: They prepared various instructions and substantiated the ministry's decisions on the need to develop certain directions and did small projects. In 1985, the collective decided to make the transition to the program method of research within the institute. Instead of the 150 projects, they organized 10 scientific-technical programs and 6 exploratory programs. Last year they set up a scientific-production association embracing a project planning institute, an experimental plant, and a scientific-research institute for mechanical and process engineering. Integrated projects are now being done in the scientific-production association that fully handle the creation of the entire technology, preparation of equipment, and designs. A great interest is already being shown in that kind of comprehensive assignment.

"But there are also problems which we cannot solve on our own," A.Yu. Kaminskas remarked. "For example, when we are aiming at an entire manufacturing line, a new technology, we cannot handle this alone: we need cooperation, rather extensive cooperation. In the last 2 years, we have managed to produce solutions to some problems which are far better than foreign achievements. We have already sold some machines to a Finnish firm, and there are requests from other countries. But what is happening? Periods for industrial cooperation do not extend more than 9 months for foreign firms, but in our country it sometimes takes as much as a year to fill out the documents because of bureaucratic impediments. My proposal is creating the opportunities for scientific-production associations to enter into direct ties, including foreign exchange operations."

A.Yu. Kaminskas proposed creation in scientific-production associations a system for retraining the personnel of industrial enterprises undergoing reconstruction and the creation of cooperatives for speedy application of efficient developments.

[N.N. Slyunkov] My question is this. You believe that cooperatives need to be used more extensively in order to speed up the process of application of new developments in construction. I think that this is one of the forms which in a certain combination of the institute's ties with cooperative organizations can effectively and unconditionally yield a constructive result. After all, we have a very large amount of state construction being done on a large scale. Do you not have any proposals or ideas here as to how to make the construction process

receptive to the application of innovations, to the introduction of developments, to the application of new materials, as well as to the application of new developments in the design? Perhaps we are being somehow too serious here and are, so to speak, failing to note the underlying factor because we are planning construction in volume terms, not planning the end product that goes to the market. We do not plan a specific project, say, with a specific cost, on contract principles, and with a set deadline. Perhaps we might look at some mechanism in this connection so that the builder, the client, and the contractor would conclude a contract for turnkey construction of the project at the estimated cost. Perhaps we might think about changing the system for planning construction and the procedure for construction so that we could set up such a mechanism with you and so that it would be advantageous to the builder to use all innovations. After all, they will all be working for his economic benefit. Let us think about that.

[A.Yu. Kaminskas] Yes, it seems to me that that would be the right thing. Because at present we have the cost-base mechanism for the use of building materials. The structure of building materials use in construction is in practice changing very little. The use of effective building materials is being held up.

[N.N. Slyunkov] There is something else I want to say. So, fine, the city council today has ordered an apartment house with 100 units, and this house has its estimated cost. And the construction time for that house is 12 months. But we have built it in 8. And suppose we did not save on materials. Should the builders receive additional benefits, pay, incentives for having built the house earlier? After all, it was turned over to tenancy earlier, it will begin to yield income earlier. That is the way it is, as a principle.

V.A. Kazanavichyus, deputy chairman of the LiSSR Council of Ministers: We do have a mechanism that has been conceived for that purpose. It seems to me that the all-union mechanism for construction is not working and not solving the problems which face us today.

[N.N. Slyunkov] I am also convinced of that.

B.K. Genzyalis, secretary of the party committee of Vilnius State University, spoke about the position which science has come to have in our country.

"It seems to me that the main problem is to set science free," he said. "What do I mean by that? Well, in our country at the present time there are the scientific provinces and the scientific centers or metropolitan areas, the so-called head institutes. They are the head institutes because they are located in Moscow, and their position depends little on the qualifications of the specialists working there. Nevertheless, the head institutes still get better financing than institutes in the republics. It seems to me that the scientific center ought to be the institute or VUZ in which certain scientific traditions

are maturing regardless of where it is located—in Moscow or somewhere else. If we look closely at the experience of world science, we see that this principle of head institutes that we have exists nowhere else in the world. We should think about whether that is not the reason why such a grievous situation has come about in our science: we have created a science that is subject to the nomenclature. Until we change the situation, it seems to me that nothing will change in the country.

"The planning of scientific institutions ought not to depend on the place which some planner finds for a head scientific institution, but on where the need arises, and where a group of working scientific specialists is created.

"We also need to give some thought to the training of scientists. How do we train them now? In standard fashion. Throughout the entire Union universities have the same curriculum, and the same is true of polytechnical institutes. But we know that there is no such thing as a unified science as such; the sciences are undergoing specialization, but we are training standard personnel. And the main thing is that the scientist's position in our country depends not on his scientific qualification and abilities, but on subjective factors. I think that this situation has to be corrected: every VUZ must have a certain autonomy, its own specialization, which will depend on having qualified personnel. The VUZ cannot operate according to an assigned plan in the same way as, say, a machine.

"At the same time, we talk a great deal about the democratization of science, about democratization in general. But everything is going the other way. We say that independence has to be developed. What do we mean by that? We receive instructions, say from the recently created USSR State Committee for Public Education, and every new instruction runs counter to what we have been openly saying, counter to our criticism. It is interesting what is happening: our words are departing from what we do: we say one thing and we do another. In my view, this is particularly evident in the example of the humanities. What is their status? We are now arguing a very great deal about amendments to the Constitution. What sensible person who studies those amendments could say that we are moving in the direction of democratization when every decision of the republic and of every one of its bodies can be automatically vacated by a higher authority in Moscow? The amendments do not even specify in what cases the decisions of republic institutions may be vacated. Is that the way in which we can develop science, democracy, and humanism?"

[N.N. Slyunkov] Thank you very much. Well, and what do you think about competitiveness between scientific development projects? Is it removing these problems?

[B. Genzyalis] No, it is not eliminating them completely. After all, the competitions also depend on subjective factors. At the same time, the competitions, say all-union competitions, regulate science. For example, when a



textbook or scientific book is written, even if it is very good, the entire country accommodates to the same opinion regardless of where this work was done: it becomes the standard, it will always be the fixation of one point of view, which ultimately results in the regimentation of science.

V. Statulyavichyus, vice president of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences: Nikolay Nikitovich, the USSR Supreme Soviet has allocated 500 million rubles to carry out state programs of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and out of that sum 150 million rubles for republic academies of sciences. It was explained to us at the time that the funds for the scientific centers, in Novosibirsk say, would also come out of the republic funds. I think that we must take part in those competitions on an equal footing, take part in the relevant commissions which distribute the funds and make the decisions.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Which means that we have to democratize our science and develop glasnost in this area.

[Remark from the audience] Beginning in Moscow.

[N.N. Slyunkov] Beginning in Moscow, I do not object to that. I can entirely agree with you. So, then, we need more democratization in science and more glasnost and more competitiveness.

A.A. Zhukauskas, vice president of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences, dwelled in detail on the problems in development of the fuel and power industry. Speaking about the situation at the Ignalinskaya Nuclear Power Plant, he noted: "Like the majority of specialists in Moscow, we feel that new reactors of the RBMK, like the one at the Ignalinskaya Nuclear Power Plant, should not be built at all in the Soviet Union. And further construction of the IAE must be entirely stopped.

A.A. Zhukauskas then touched on the question of practical application of scientific research. On the basis of fundamental research, the number of application projects has now reached 50 percent of the total. The practical application of science is proceeding effectively in the fields of electronics, instrumentmaking, the fuel and power industry, and the automotive industry, A.A. Zhukauskas said. The bulk of Lithuania's economy is subordinate to union ministries, and approximately threefold more enterprises have been transferred to union jurisdiction than was the case 10-15 years ago.

[N.N. Slyunkov] You believe that administration has moved from the region to the center in recent years?

[A.A. Zhukauskas] Yes, from the regions to the center. Even this very year. After all, we adopted a decree to create a union construction ministry and the Ministry of Fishing Industry. That process is going on all the time. The result is that these ministries have an unrestricted monopoly all over the country. These monopolies are being used first of all to raise prices, and the republic

council of ministers has no right to intervene in the price increase. Second, we see how union ministries apply all their energies to obtaining foreign exchange, and there has been less interest in domestic development projects. The ministries should be eliminated, and the faster the better. Several associations have to be created in every sector so that there will be healthy competition among them.

A.A. Zhukauskas spoke about numerous instructions about how to improve scientific-technical progress, about the need to save and obtain additional income, and about pricing.

[N.N. Slyunkov] You have raised many important issues, but do you not have any specific proposals as yet, say, on the question of changing prices? We feel that it is the prices of consumer goods over which Soviet authorities should have significant control. Prices have to be lowered, but lowered by virtue of cost reduction.

[A.A. Zhukauskas] We feel that on all things the republic produces prices should be regulated by the republic council of ministers, not a minister in Moscow. Then everything will take a turn for the better.

The discussion then turned to the imbalance between money income and the supply of commodities, to the possibilities of correcting the situation on the market, to overcoming shortages.

N.N. Slyunkov remarked that we have to develop a new economic mechanism, since there are no subjective decisions, orders, and decrees that will solve the problems that have accumulated. A mechanism has to be found so that it would be advantageous, for example, not to begin new construction projects, but to undertake reconstruction, to retool existing enterprises. We write orders, we conduct experiments, but the number of unfinished projects has been growing, and protracted construction time is getting longer. The same thing is happening in our science. That is why it is not enough just to make an observation, to admit that the economy at present has remained unreceptive to science; we have to find a relation between them, a mutual receptivity. A great deal of money and effort has been going into our science. The state has not spared resources so that we would spend almost the same share of the national income on science as they do in America.

K.V. Glavyatskus, docent at Vilnius University, spoke to this point, saying that if you take 10 of our scientists and 10 American scientists and compare them with respective productivity, we will have one-tenth as many based on the end result. The main reason is the sickness of our economy, it is the problem of realizing ownership. We have not worked out any new model for realizing a socialist ownership that would facilitate the country's effective development, K.V. Glavyatskus said. At present, state ownership has for all practical purposes become sector ownership, departmental ownership. For

example, as much as 90 percent of all property in the republic is now subordinate to all-union departments. Separation of the rights of economic management from the rights of ownership—that is a fundamental mistake. Realistic steps have to be taken to bring those rights together in the hands of scientific institutions, to make them either joint stock companies or cooperatives. Only in that way is it possible to set science free. But under one condition: all other participants in innovation must also be set free.

Then the docent said that the low productivity of scientists is a consequence of the low standard of living, of the economic mechanism that has not been functioning, and of the failure to conform to ethnic peculiarities. He noticed that science has not in the world been developing according to the sector principle; that is why the future for sector science in the country is very limited. It is necessary to strengthen the lines of academy science on the one hand and university science on the other; they are the ones concentrating on basic research. All the rest of science must be on a cost-accounting basis.

A.I. Burachas, member of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences, said that since 1980 nearly 80 decrees and decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR Supreme Soviet have been issued to limit the real rights of the republic in deciding the economic and cultural issues in its life. This kind of centralized management has also affected results in science. On the one hand, scientists at the local level are not motivated because there is little gain to be had from new ideas. The risk of applying one's ideas is not offset by the possible reward. At the same time, those who are managing from the center are still not taking direct responsibility for the results achieved. Like almost all of those who spoke, A.I. Burachas did not skirt the question of proposals and amendments to the Constitution. He noted that since their adoption we have been losing equality in voting, in the representation of various nationalities, equality in deciding nationality problems, and he offered specific examples to make the case for this.

S.I. Sidaras, deputy general director of the Lithuanian Production Association "Sigma," devoted his speech to the information industry, the problems of financing it, and problems in its internal relations. We planned by 1993 to bring our products up to the forecast average world level, the speaker said. We have now taken the first steps, and the results are deplorable. Certain materials and components are not being delivered. Materials and sources of components in the country are of very low quality, and one gets the impression that it is getting worse. Our trading partners do not take responsibility, and that is a defect of centralized management. He noted that the institution of the association has done development projects, but their practical application has been facing difficulties. That is why industry has to be pulled along simultaneously with science.

V.I. Domarkas, rector of the Kaunas Polytechnical Institute imeni Antanas Sniechkus, raised the question of why enterprises in our country do not have the right now intended for cooperatives? Problems have arisen because of this. Workers are leaving enterprises for cooperatives, and even the VUZ is unable to attract good personnel. They prefer to go to the cooperatives, and there they are paid better for less intellectual effort. Of course, the documents on the restructuring of higher education have made certain cosmetic corrections in this area. But we need to look seriously at financial matters right now.

V.I. Domarkas also spoke about a draft of university students into military service. The worst thing is that a person's most receptive period comes after military service, and few of them decide on serious scientific work. And there are practically no competitions for graduate study. This is a problem that needs to be solved as quickly as possible.

V.A. Statulyavichyus, vice president of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences, called the attention of N.N. Slyunkov to the fact that in Gosplan and ministries and various committees many decrees of the CPSU CC are not being carried out, and he concurred in the opinion of V.I. Domarkas that the question of military training in VUZes needs to be dealt with more rapidly. It is a great mistake that the entire country is still living according to a single model, and if there are any blunders, they are felt throughout the country. V.A. Statulyavichyus expressed his point of view about the republic's independence. If you take the 15 republics, and if there were 15 experiments, it would be possible to choose from their results the best version of economic activity. When the sovnarkhozes were abolished, it was said that large firms would be created, that the small republics could not achieve progress. In that country, 80 percent of scientific-technical progress is achieved thanks to small plants with between 2 and 1,000 persons. He also favored a radical change in the system for training scientists.

V.A. Statulyavichyus spoke about the need to broaden ties with foreign science, but all kinds of obstacles are being set up against that. The vice president gave the example of signing a contract with the University of California in which Moscow demanded that the contract be done over in a different form—and thus it was left "hanging in the air." He submitted a request that the question of direct contacts between higher educational institutions in the republics with world science be dealt with.

The conversation then turned to the pricing mechanism.

N.N. Slyunkov noted that there are some economists who are mistaken in believing that the free market is the only way of creating the possibility of the price being formed by needs. That is not the situation. In all countries there is a definite mechanism for regulating prices. Why can these matters not be brought under public scrutiny and public discussion? Why is it that today we

do not discuss those price changes taking place on consumer goods directly in the enterprises, with the collectives, and jointly with them deal with the most important issues not by raising prices, but by improving product quality, by reducing materials intensiveness. As I see it, you view matters somehow prejudicially: But what kind of state do we have, and how is it being administered? Our state has been and is being administered by those structures which have been in place and which we are now rejecting, as well as by those which are being created from scratch. And it was always managed by the people. It will be managed still more by the people when we carry out a political reform and turn everything over to popular sovereignty, to the soviets.

V.V. Chepaytis, writer, member of the Council of the Assembly of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring: But does it not seem to you that it is actually centralization that is taking place now?

[N.N. Slyunkov] If that opinion is held by anyone, it is either subjective or it is based on insufficient analysis, on incorrect information.

[V.V. Chepaytis] Yet one of the amendments to the USSR Constitution speaks precisely about that.

[N.N. Slyunkov] But that is another topic, one which we also have not been avoiding. When we came here, we absolutely did not think and did not expect that there would be so many questions related to discussion of the draft of the Constitution, the draft of the Law on Election of Deputies. I am giving you an absolutely categorical answer that your opinion is either subjective or you are making use of unreliable or incomplete information on this question.

Then N.N. Slyunkov expressed ample gratitude for the constitutional proposals for preparation of the system that would respond to the serious and fundamental issues, such as combining science with production, with the economy, and forming a high and quality level of productive forces in our country. We have been thinking about how to rid ourselves of that burden of the past more rapidly, the burden of those systems which have up to now been tying our hands, N.N. Slyunkov said. You know how many major and fundamental political decisions have been made and that have been aimed at precisely the examination of these issues. The economic reform and scientific-technical progress—those are the directions which will take us forward in coming decades. The budget appropriations for the development of science in 1989 are up 34.6 percent; 450 million rubles for next year will be committed to acquiring instruments and other necessary resources.

We have not shaped a system for selecting the practical lines of basic research, those directions that have priority. Not a single country in the world has taken upon itself the mission of becoming the leader in all lines of scientific research. Nor do we need to do that.

N.N. Slyunkov shared his judgments concerning the draft of the Constitution. He noted that all the issues in the draft are becoming somehow nervous and emotional, they are not being raised from the standpoint of an effective comparison and possible variants and specific proposals, but through the method of accusations and the method of denials. And incorrect and harmful individual statements are being made, such as the accusations addressed to Moscow, to the Central Committee, and to the Politburo for departures from the decisions of the 19th party conference. These charges have no legitimacy whatsoever. All the decisions made by the party conference will be taken to the end in full conformity. Just as it is written in every point, in every provision, in every paragraph.

Today, we are reassessing the fundamental principles of the political reform, this lies at the very source, N.N. Slyunkov said. The tenure of the presently elected Supreme Soviet expires in March. Elections are accordingly to be held at the appointed time. The 19th party conference, in carrying out democratization of society and the political reform, adopted a decision to create entirely new bodies of Soviet power, new not only in structure, but also in the essence of what they do. That requires electing deputies. We want to elect the very best people to all bodies and to take into account all requests and all interests of all nationalities. No other issues and no other problems have even been proposed. People should calmly look at the specific mechanism developing, they will find all the explanations on this issue.

[B.K. Genzyalis] Today we are discussing the problem of progress, but where has the progress been in voting rights. After all, those 750 seats which you are offering us are reminiscent of the elections of the estates that took place in France on the eve of the bourgeois revolution. There is no question of equality at all. The individual member of society may have several votes: he votes as a party member, as a citizen, as a member of the Artists Union, but if he is a member of the Writers Union? This is a throwback to feudal law.

[N.N. Slyunkov] For the present, let you stick with your opinion and I will stick with mine. Let the people have its say on this. Whatever it says, that is the way it will be.

A.K. Nasvitis, architect, member of the Council of the Assembly of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring: There is an immense difference in numbers between the Lithuanian people and the Russian people. That will also be the case in the vote. So how can we say that the people will decide?

Yu.K. Pozhela expressed gratitude for the interesting exchange of opinions, for a conversation that should be worthwhile for everyone.



**Waning of Ukrainian Nationalism, Language  
Deplored**

18000175a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
15 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[Article, published under the heading "Interethnic Relations: History and the Present Day," by Vladimir Yavorivskiy: "My Language...."]

[Text] Glasnost, so dear to our hearts, became the first reality of many perestroika reforms, permeating society from top to bottom. Truth passed along its capillaries to the people. Our ears were sometimes unaccustomed to this truth, but after all, it is our own, not an "imported" truth. It must be felt keenly, reanalyzed, reworked. It must be done. If we leave all this as well to those who come after us, it means we shall for quite some time to come silently accept indifference as the norm, and it will be difficult for our children to believe that these are simply dramatic mistakes, not lying in the root system of our social order.

During the 30 years of my conscious life, ethnic feeling, a heightened sense of the destiny of my people, never left me, even when it was considered a political sin to speak aloud of these things. And yet I must admit that even 3 years ago I began to think: let democratic conditions and glasnost take hold a bit, let the economy perk up, and then we can address the nationalities question as well.

And then, suddenly, there were the events in Alma-Ata! Those were the most painful days of my life: could it really be that the "Kunayev regime," which was leaving the scene, would hand over a "trump card" to the opponents of change and we would be pushed back not only to our line of departure but into the murk and gloom of the past?

No, the new leadership had sufficient courage to take this blow and to acknowledge that we have very acute ethnic problems in this country and that their resolution cannot be put off "until later." The fact is that all this exists in a single, solidly tied knot.

The opponents of perestroika are rubbing their hands in glee: in the past, under Stalin and Brezhnev, ethnic problems did not exist: neither the events in Alma-Ata, nor Nagorny Karabakh, nor the question of the Crimean Tatars, but now.... See where your democracy and glasnost have gotten us—the situation is becoming aggravated to a maximum degree here, there, and everywhere.

Yes, things were simpler in those times: "there were no" collisions at sea, railway accidents, or airplane crashes.... If the Chernobyl tragedy had happened at an earlier time, we would have learned about it in terms of a harmless incident. But passions in and about the Nagorny Karabakh have been building up for many years. And to be quite honest, if these events had erupted at an earlier time, Leonid Ilich would have given orders to the internal security troops on the very first day, and

by that evening they would be reporting back to him that the Armenians and Azerbaijani were now locked in fond embrace. And we would learn about what had really happened from the blood-chilling tales of eyewitnesses at a much later time....

The complexity and neglectedness of this question are also due to the fact that even after three years of perestroika we are just beginning to speak about it aloud. Even the valiant central press decided not to address this subject. This is particularly noticeable against the background of profound analysis of the economy, ethics and morality, and modes of economic management.

This is why we must not simply wait for a CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question but conduct an open discussion right today, in order to reveal both the strong and weak links in the area of interethnic relations.

At one of the plenary sessions of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine, everybody who took the speakers' stand cited examples of narrowing of the functions of the Ukrainian language in the republic, departure from Leninist principles of nationalities policy during the years of stagnation, and unanimously (this is an extremely rare occurrence in the clique-ridden unions of creative artists) insisted: return to the Ukrainian language its national status, on terms of equality with Russian. On equal terms, but not to the latter's detriment.

This combination of words has a paradoxical and bitter ring to it: expand use of the Ukrainian language among... the Ukrainian people, who are living on their own land, and who are making their own modern history, for what is being sought is not forcibly to impose the language on those who have come from other republics, who have not had the possibility or opportunity to learn it, but rather us Ukrainians, who have become stripped of our roots, deprived of the natural memory of our mother tongue, the Ukrainians, who are gradually and imperceptibly—even if it is under the press of objective circumstances—becoming transformed into a faceless mob numbering in the many millions, adding not to the ranks of internationalists, but to the gray tribe of "Mankurty" in Chingiz Aytmatov's novel "Burannyi polustanok" [Snowbound Way Station].

Ethnic nihilism—a dangerous spiritual and moral disease—has in recent years been perceived even by Ukrainian parents as a harmless fad, something in the order of "varenki" or rock-and-roll. And is it really limited to the Ukraine? If things continue like this, if we continue to consider this to be something made up by the intellectuals (particularly the writers) and national or ethnic feelings to be a bourgeois carryover, that harmoniously developed person about whom we spoke so much in past years may turn out to be a bourgeois philistine without genetic memory, without roots, and without a crown as

well, without love for his native land, and without obligations to his clan and people. Can we really hand over our future, our history, our culture and customs to such persons? Will they be able to represent their people, their nation beyond the threshold of the third millennium?

If our socialist history had developed according to Leninist precept, we would not today be feeling so many economic, political, moral, and spiritual losses. We would simply be building, not undertaking a restructuring after seven decades of the most exhausting labor and two wars. The nationalities question would probably not be arousing today such diverse, at times heightened passions if that all-renewing breath of the Leninist nationalities policy of the 1920's, which gave rebirth to entire peoples and ethnic groups, had not been interrupted by Stalin, by harshly repressive measures, acts of provocation, arrests and executions of ethnic cadres who had been indoctrinated in the Leninist style.

The "father of peoples," who was pathologically incapable of tolerating individuals, who could tolerate only human masses, a frightened and intimidated throng, struck an immediate blow not only to human worth and dignity but to ethnic worth and dignity as well, destroying back in the 1930's, for example, all the brightest talents in Ukrainian literature and culture, who refused to submit to political opportunism and recreancy: Les Kurbas and Mikola Khvylyovyy, Grigoriy Kosynka and Mikola Kulish, Mikola Zerov and Mikola Skrypnyk, Vasil Bobynskiy and Aleksa Vlyzko....

Ethnic or national feeling was equated to a criminal act, while the frightful scarecrow of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" strode through the cities, towns and villages of the Ukraine, which had barely recovered from the famine of 1933, erasing the rolls of the living or carting away to the "bears" even those who simply kept silent but in "too Ukrainian a manner."

That outstanding Georgian prose writer Chabua Amiredzhibi, who was deported to Siberia for one a half decades during those years, related to me the details of life in Siberian exile: "We had the purest, most crystal-clear internationalism—among 'nationalists' exiled from all republics!"

We must also recall that in the Western Ukraine two years of the Stalinist order distorted the face of socialism just before the war and that Stalinist collectivization in that region assumed even uglier forms. Stalin's chauvinistic acts of repression and the policy implemented by his inept ideologues provoked fratricidal clashes. They began looking for the harmful influence of "national spirit" in the healthiest, most normal manifestation of all national, patriotic feelings.

They imposed an indifference toward everything dear and sacred to us, to that which from time immemorial has united man into a nation, a people. And after Stalin's

death.... Well, you yourselves know. In this matter, as in all others, we have the sinister triumph of bureaucratic centralization and apathy toward political affairs. Of course everything was somewhat more moderate in comparison with the past, but nobody rescinded the old models.

Some would like to perceive this phenomenon as normal and quite natural, not particularly threatening (after all, there is AIDS, drug addiction, alcoholism, "refuseniks," food shortages, Afghanistan, Chernobyl...), particularly since obliging scholars had been found to propagandize the "merging of nations." It might be a thing of the distant future, but nevertheless there would occur a leveling, an eroding away, and finally a gradual disappearance. Why give any thought to the fact that cutting out a people's patriotic, ethnic roots disrupts the "ecological balance" of internationalism, imperceptibly kills its very substance, and cuts off its oxygen, for the latter is impossible without the former, because internationalism is a flowering of ethnic diversity, not a cheerless march column of identical countenance, with no memory of their genealogy, their language, their history, or the customs of their ancestors.

The worst thing about it is the fact that a vast administrative-bureaucratic army is defending precisely this model of "internationalism," which does not bear even a remote similarity to a Leninist position on this score. And they hastened to proclaim from the lofty halls of government that all problems have been resolved or are successfully being resolved (why mention such a trivial matter as interethnic relations!). Khanty-Mansi poet Yuvan Shestakov complained that he has no more readers, that he is not only the first Khanty-Mansi poet but the last one as well.... In Minsk, the capital of a large Slavic republic, only on the far outskirts of town has a single Belorussian school been preserved, and even the people at the republic Ministry of Public Education have exempted their children from the requirement to learn the Belorussian language.

An analogous situation has developed in the Ukraine, although not on the same scale. While in the past the processes of rejection of study of one's national language in the school were purely urban phenomena, today they have stricken a great many rayon administrative seats in the Ukraine, as well as a great many villages, where feverish construction is in process, building a chemical plant, nuclear power station, canal, or natural gas pipeline. Must we pay for natural gas or chemical fertilizer with spiritual and intellectual losses? Here is a specific example of our present situation: in the village of Pere-moga, in Baryshevskiy Rayon, where I live most of the time and where I am writing these lines, one can hear the pure, melodious, rich Ukrainian language only from elderly farm folk. People communicate with one another in a colorless mixture, a half-Russian and half-Ukrainian mishmash, which has even invaded the schools, where

classes are taught in this pseudo-Ukrainian language. Unquestionably this is killing love both for the Russian and the Ukrainian language.

In January we paid our final respects to outstanding Ukrainian prose writer Boris Kharchuk, who expended enormous effort on guarding the truth and honor of the writer's word during the years of stagnation and hypocrisy. At his gravesite many recalled how about 12 years ago one of his talented contemporaries claimed to find "relapses of nationalism" in one of Kharchuk's charming stories, a children's favorite. And they printed this foul disparagement. And then Boris Kharhuk had his first heart attack. And it did not occur to anybody to ask the author of this political slander: How did you and your thought processes come up with this "deciphered subtext"? What is the source of these allegories? Can one really discuss a highly complex and highly subtle issue at such a level? One gets a heart attack, while the other is immediately handed a literary award....

The reason I am saying this is that the slightest slip of the tongue or emotional "outwelling" (sometimes a natural occurrence when dealing with feelings) by a person who loves his land, his people, its culture and history would immediately be monstrously exaggerated, equated to apostasy, while crude, as a rule self-seeking actions by half-baked chauvinists have always been rewarded, praised, and set out as an example.

It is precisely for this reason that the latter acted with impunity in depriving the people of Oles Gonchar's novel "Sobor" [Council], in "bashing" Roman Ivanychuk's historical novel "Zhuravlinyy krik" [Cry of the Crane] and Dmitro Yavornitskiy's history of the Zaporozhye Cossacks.... Only now is all this and a great deal else being returned to whom it was intended—the people, and is prized by the people to the highest degree.

In the search for truth one must think not only about the large but the small as well, because all this exists in a monolithic interlinkage when discussing nationalities problems. One can take offense or become indignant when a sales clerk (a country lass recently arrived in Kiev from a Poltava village) snorts in reply to your question, spoken in Ukrainian: "Talk like a human being!" But we must bear in mind that she is a "product" of circumstances: her mother and father did not instill love of their native language in her, the school rejected "inferior goods," and neither the city nor the environment in which she found herself provided her with even the rudiments of culture. Therefore her native language appears to her to be "hayseedish" and "uneducated," since it could disclose her biography, of which she is ashamed. The very people which speaks this language seems "country bumpkin" in her eyes, and of course it is unprestigious to be associated with this people....

Perhaps the largest offender here is our education, which we by tradition call popular. How can it possibly be popular if it ignores the fundamental basis of a nation's

being and existence—its language and study of that language from childhood? It is not surprising that Minister of Public Education Comrade Fomenko's speech before the republic's writers was repeatedly interrupted by ironic comments from the audience.

Incidentally, in Lenin's time there were Jewish, Bulgarian, and Greek schools in the Ukraine, at which children learned the language of the people among which they were living. And neither socialism nor friendship among peoples lost anything by this; on the contrary, the children knew their own native tongue, as well as the Ukrainian and Russian languages. Subsequently the prerogative of the state to teach language was handed over to the parents, who were now indoctrinated in this "nonobligatoriness": since the state has no need for this language, what use would it be to my child? The sales clerk from the Poltava village is a potential mother. This completes a vicious circle in the center of which ethnic nihilism flourishes. And the fact that only 26 out of 88 theaters in the Ukraine are Ukrainian theaters, that there are fewer than 10 Ukrainian schools in the cities serving as oblast administrative centers in the vast southern regions of the Ukraine—Odessa, Nikolayev, Zaporozhye, Kherson, and Simferopol, and the fact that addresses honoring the anniversary of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are given in Russian—these are all parts of that same vicious circle. This is the deep rut in which we find our wheels stuck. There is plenty of food for thought here.

How can we break out of this vicious circle? Here is my opinion. A provision should be added to all republic constitutions giving the national language official status. If we consider each and every citizen in our country to be a person of significance to the state, then the language of each and every people is an asset of the state, and since it is an asset, it must be preserved and protected. Then mandatory study of the Ukrainian language alongside the Russian language in the schools in this republic democratically invests them with equality of rights.

If students graduating from the republic's schools are made aware that upon entering the republic's higher educational institutions or technical schools they will be required to pass an examination on their native language and literature, they will adequately learn that language in school. The only exceptions would be made for persons coming from other regions of the country. This step would bring us onto a Leninist path and would immediately solve many problems.

I remember back at the end of the 1960's young Cubans were sent to study at rural vocational schools in the Ukraine. For the sake of a few foreigners who, incidentally, would have been willing to learn Ukrainian, all the schools were changed over to Russian being the language of instruction. The Cubans have left, but this stupid change, which is contrary to the principles of education, has remained.



What is happening right now? A plenary session of the board of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine on patriotic and internationalist indoctrination is being held in Kiev. The plenum proceedings are being published in the newspapers. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will soon adopt a resolution on this matter—clearly-formulated, aggressive, focusing on a Leninist approach to the nationalities question. And yet at this same time several pedagogic institutes are shutting down their departments of Ukrainian language and literature. And at this same time a rayon newspaper in Ternopol Oblast is rebuking Ukrainian language and literature teachers for the fact that on a Russian Language Day being held in the rayon they spoke to one of the pupils in Ukrainian and... ruined Russian Language Day. To what heights of stupidity one can go in the desire to curry favor with one's superiors!

What are needed today are well-reasoned, Leninist-bold solutions for defending and protecting both national languages and the finest customs, folkways, and standards of conduct, which have preserved profound ethics, for defending and protecting the unique ethnic countenance of each and every people and ethnic group in this country, their history and culture. Not for the sake of disunity but for the sake of unity of equals, who appreciate one another precisely for their uniqueness, who have respect for themselves and for other peoples. It is hellishly difficult to scrape off the scale, which has built up over the course of many years, of primitive dogmas and "myopic views" which are destroying the root system of the Individual. But this must be done.

A person without ethnic roots is a tumbleweed or a grain of dust on the winds of history.... Only a person who carries within himself the historical experience of his people, its spiritual and intellectual culture, its ethics and language, but who also remembers that a people is always internationalist in outlook—only such a person is capable of being an Individual!

**Kirghiz Deputy Construction Chairman Sees Problems in Meeting Housing Goals**  
*18300148 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 p 2*

[Article by S. Ablesov, first deputy chairman, KiSSR Gosstroy and minister, under rubric: "Toward the Eighth Session of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet": "Housing Is a Concern of All the People"]

[Text] By a decree dated 21 June 1988 the Kirghiz CP Central Committee and the KiSSR Council of Ministers outlined a program for providing a separate, well-laid-out apartment or an individual house for every family in this republic by the year 2000. In order to implement this program, we must construct about 35 million square meters of housing, or 573,000 apartments.

However, the pace of housing construction which has been attained at the present time is still insufficient. Thus, an average of 1.1 million sq m of housing were introduced during each of the years 1986 and 1987, approximately 1.3 million are planned to be put into operation during 1988, whereas during the 13th and 14th five-year plans we will have to provide an average annual introduction of 2.3 and 3.35 million sq m of housing respectively.

The average annual ruble amount of housing construction-and-installation work has been planned as follows: during the 12th Five-Year Plan—195 million rubles, during the 13th Five-Year Plan—347.8 million rubles, and during the 14th Five-Year Plan—524.6 million rubles. For the sake of comparison, let's cite the fact that in 1988 the amount of housing construction-and-installation work amounts to 191 million rubles.

As a result, by the year 2000 the average provision of total living space will amount to 14 sq m per person. (In 1986 this figure was 11.11 sq m).

During the time which has elapsed since the 27th party congress labor collectives, local Soviet and party organs, ministries and departments have done a great deal of work on drawing up the comprehensive program known as "Housing-2000," in which they outlined the principal lines of solving the housing problem in various regions of this republic.

In order to determine how many apartments and specifically what kinds need to be constructed in this republic's oblasts and rayons, an analysis is being made of the demographic composition of families; a study is also being made of the structure of the existing housing stock and its condition. These calculations, which are being conducted by local Soviet and planning organs, will become the basis for planning new types of houses and, consequently, for concluding contract agreements for building them.

The culminating phase of all this work will be the examination of this extremely important social program at the session of our republic's Supreme Soviet. We hope that the active participation by the deputies in working out the program will allow us to take local conditions and accumulated experience more fully into account, to reveal bottlenecks, and that it will play a mobilizing role in carrying out what has been outlined.

What reserves do we have here? We must step up the pace of developing capacities for producing local building materials, as well as monolithic and large-panel housing construction. Therefore, the measures worked out by this republic's Gosplan for the years 1991-2000 have provided for the introduction of new capacities to produce parts for large-panel housing construction in the following amounts: 690,000 sq m of housing, wall materials consisting of 1,040 million standard bricks, and 2.0

million tons of cement. In 1987 these figures appear, respectively, as follows: 339,510 sq m, 520.9 million standard bricks, and 1,461,100 tons of cement.

The production of cinder-sand and gypsum-concrete wall blocks constitutes an important reserve for providing the public with building materials. Those local Soviets which have involved industrial enterprises in modernizing their old bases and making metal forms and riggings, and which have paid increased attention to the builders' everyday needs are proceeding correctly. There is hope here of achieving a genuine boost in housing construction in the very near future.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan there was a shortfall of 46,700 sq m in the total amount of apartment houses put into operation by means of state capital investments and the funds of housing-construction cooperatives.

The pace of housing construction is also being retarded because of the significantly increasing cost of the apartment houses being built. During the last 10 years the average cost of one square meter of overall living space increased by 22 percent. The work on ensuring the preservation of the available housing stock has not been organized on the level it should be.

Brickyards and other plants under the jurisdiction of this republic's Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry and Gosagroprom have not discovered effective forms of production organization which would allow them to fully utilize their capacities. They are not providing incentives for the output of bricks and adobe bricks in above-plan amounts. As a result, in 1987 alone there was a shortfall of about 60 million standard bricks, 42,000 cu m of keramzit, and more than 10,000 cu m of reinforced-concrete items.

Constituting a significant brake on the development of industrial-type homebuilding is the fallacious idea which has evolved over the years to the effect that only a large homebuilding combine can be profitable and guarantee high quality. Therefore, this republic's average-sized and small cities do not have appropriate bases and are forced to be satisfied with random, irregular deliveries of items from large cities. Hence, in addition to enormous transportation expenses, the construction in progress is characterized by a lack of distinction and by monotonous sameness of form. The solution is to be seen in the most rapid possible creation in every large populated center of its own homebuilding base—diverse in form, flexible, and with the cooperation of the forces and funds belonging to the local organizations.

At the same time that low-capacity enterprises for large-panel homebuilding are being created, it is recommended that we organize creative planning and designing collectives which would be able to formulate the architectural appearance of a populated center while taking local features into account.

There has been experience in creating mini-DSK's [homebuilding combines] in our country and among our friends in the socialist countries. They do not require complex engineering equipment; the production buildings can be constructed of local building materials and lightweight structural components. Use can be made here of such forms of production organization as construction cooperatives, which are particularly advantageous in building low-rise houses.

This republic has allowed a serious slackening of attention to individual housing construction. Its volume has been curtailed to one-third over the past 25 years.

Enterprises and organizations have made poor use of the broad possibilities accorded to them for rendering aid to their own employees in constructing individual houses.

Certain such shifts have occurred at the Chuypromstroy Trust, which, by means of its enterprises' funds, has begun to plan a complex for building individual houses on an area of 25 hectares. Operations are conducted by the Kerege Planning Cooperative, which is located in Alamedinskiy Rayon. The construction of roads, engineering utilities, and facilities for social, cultural, and everyday purposes are intended to be fully carried out by the trust's own efforts. Analogous activity has been started on a broad scale in the Leniniskiy District of the city of Frunze. Upon the initiative of Ispolkom Chairman E. Ibrahimov, the Frunzenets Cooperative has been organized; it has begun construction of the Orok Micro-rayon for individual builders who are attempting to improve their living conditions.

In both cases construction is being carried out, or will be carried out, in an area where the seismicity is more than nine points. Hence, there are increased requirements on the quality of executing the plan and all the construction operations.

It is high time that we did away with unjustified restrictions on allotting plots for individual homeownerships in cities and urban-type settlements. For those inhabitants of cities who want to build their own houses independently we could set aside plots in the suburbs as well. Otherwise we will not solve the housing program's problem with respect to turning houses over for operation by means of the population's funds. And this program is quite a big one. Thus, for example, during the years 1986-1990 provisions have been made to put 2,850,000 sq m in operation, during the years 1991-1995 this figure will be 4,500,000, and from 1996 to 2000—6,000,000.

The shortage of bricks and lumber could become a serious problem. We must increase their production by means of improving the utilization of existing capacities, as well as by more rapidly introducing up-to-date plants, creating modest-sized enterprises in rural localities, including seasonal enterprises, and expanding the planting of poplar trees, to be used in constructing house frames.

In short, we need the innovative search and keenness of wit of local craftsmen along with an economic-management approach on the part of the ispolkoms.

I am profoundly convinced that we are making poor use of our opportunities to increase housing construction by means of cooperatives. There are quite a few retarding factors here. Among them is the fact that the builders do not acquire 10 percent of the apartments in the cooperative apartment houses, as they do in the state ones. And, therefore, they are not exactly burning with desire to see a ZhSK [housing-construction cooperative] as their custome. At this point we might suggest the following variant: sell parts of the housing to the building cooperatives. There is something to talk about here. Let's hope that our readers will utter their own ideas concerning this problem.

Demographic studies have shown that a significant proportion of those waiting in line to obtain apartments consist of young persons. And unless we accelerate completion of the housing program, there is a danger that by the time the apartments are obtained many of these persons could have become old-timers. Therefore, taking into consideration that nowadays, in accordance with the Law on State Enterprises, the right to create an MZhK [Young Persons' Housing Cooperative] has been shifted from ministries to labor collectives, we must utilize this propitious opportunity to solve the problem, and we must increase the number of MZhK's several times over.

Housing construction in Frunze is becoming more and more widespread with the participation of future inhabitants of separate, well-laid-out apartments.

We must pay particular attention to the comprehensive nature of building up cities and other populated centers. There is the increasingly acute problem of upgrading the architectural-artistic level of the urban and rural build-up and the comfort level of housing by means of a broad-based use of new urban-construction devices, including low-rise, high-density build-up, effective use of territory, creation of fully valuable living environment, and widespread use of national architectural-construction traditions.

In this connection it would be timely to establish a branch of the Central Scientific Research Institute for Urban Construction in Frunze; this matter requires decision without any delays. All the more so in that we must adjust the previously approved general plans for cities and populated centers, taking into account the development of individual construction.

And there is one more major problem—that is the necessity for developing monolithic homebuilding. In comparison with traditional methods, this method allows us to reduce by 40 percent the outlays on creating a production base for construction in this republic, to reduce the expenditure of metal by 20 percent, energy outlays by 20-30 percent, and to cut estimated costs by 20 percent.

By the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan this republic's government intends to introduce a total of 151,000 sq m of general space, in the 13th Five-Year Plan—984,000 sq m, and before the year 2000—2,472,000 sq m. As we can see, the program for developing monolithic homebuilding is a big one. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that, despite its obvious advantages, monolithic homebuilding has not developed in this republic. There are many reasons for this. Included among them is the sluggishness of thinking on the part of specialists who have been reared in the spirit of devotion to precast, reinforced concrete. We must change this mind-set.

The task of providing virtually every family with a separate apartment or an individual house requires great and intensive efforts on the part of all those who are part of the construction process.

#### Details of Sumgait Trials Published

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No 46, 20-27 Nov 88 p 12

[Article by Andrei Pralnikov entitled: "Rioters on Trial"]

[Text] The cases of A. Akhmedov, I. Ismailov and Ya. Dzhaifarov, facing criminal charges, are still being heard at the Supreme Court of the USSR. "MN" issue No 44 covered the beginning of the hearing of this case, one of many following the killings in Sumgait last February.

Many questions remain unanswered. "I can't remember", is the typical answer from witnesses. The prosecutor then reads out protocols recalling those hateful events. The horror of those days in Sumgait cannot be obliterated from people's minds. Grigory Melkonyan, an elderly worker who has lost members of his family, sits silently among the audience in the courtroom, and silently smokes cigarettes during recesses. Sleepless nights have made his eyes weary and he is bitter: he has no answer to the question: how to go on?

However, not all witnesses claim to be oblivious of what happened. A student at the Institute of Physical Culture, majoring in wrestling, precisely recollects the time when a gang of youths were humiliating an Armenian man whom they had dragged out of his flat. They knifed the man, poured petrol over him and set him on fire. He also saw a woman being knocked down and kicked. He could point to the location of the corpses on the map: he avoided these places when returning home after escorting a girl friend to her place that night. He didn't telephone the militia about the incident, on the understanding that the militia were aware of the crime. True, his father was a militiaman, but his responsibility lied elsewhere.

One of the women the non-chalant student passed by managed to pull through and is among those present in



the courtroom. Who knows, perhaps more people could have been saved.

There's much evidence pointing to the possibility that the riots were organized. Someone picked up a stone and a stick—in order not to be reproached for being empty-handed. Another confessed that he burned the loot following an order over the loudspeaker not to keep any of the things stolen from the flats. Lawyers acting for the victims of the riots have evidence that telephones in many Armenian flats were cut off. Video recordings show that the militia just watched the outrages making no attempt to interfere. Incidentally, Raimond Brize, member of the Supreme Court heading the trial, mentioned during one court session that the actions of the Sumgait militia were being investigated.

Nearly 200 procurators have been engaged in the investigations, still in process. There have been twenty court cases relating to events this February. The first was in May: Taleh Ismailov was found guilty of murder and sentenced to 15 years in prison. The Sumgait trials are being conducted in an atmosphere of tight security, but lawyer Ruben Saakyan is of the opinion that the witnesses are scared. After all, they have to live in their city, where the situation has not yet been fully normalized.

At a trial in Moscow, held at the Supreme Court of the USSR, equally well-guarded, Ruben Rshtuni, representing the interests of the victims of the riots, demanded that more witnesses be summoned to court, including: former First Secretary of the Sumgait City Communist Party Committee, D. Muslim-Zade, former Chairman of the Sumgait City Soviet Executive Committee, T. Mamedov, the manager of the Sumgait telephone exchange, certain officials who advised Armenians to keep cool and wait in their homes until the disturbances quietened down, and a secretary who admitted being commissioned to compile lists of Armenian employees of certain institutions in the city of Sumgait. Raimond Brize ruled that the demand be met at least in part: six of the 13 witnesses named were to be summoned to court. He said it would become clear during the court hearing if more reports from witnesses were needed.

#### **Goskompriroda Chairman Morgun on Soviet Environmental Issues**

18300130 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview by Vasilii Mikhaylovich Peskov with USSR State Committee on Nature Preservation Chairman Fedor Trofimovich Morgun: "At the Start of the Journey"]

[Text]

[Peskov] Fedor Trofimovich, we met during your term in office in Poltava. Now here you are in Moscow. Tell me

frankly, did you not regret being taken away from the Ukrainian chernozem, from the well-regulated farms, and from the people whom, I know full well, understood you, loved you and respected you? The wagon to which you have been hitched now is a heavy one. Have you felt this heavy weight?

[Morgun] Vasilii Mikhaylovich, I've never in my life looked for easy work, and the times are such today that it's not easy or simple for anyone. When I agreed to head the Committee on Nature Preservation, I based my decision on the fact that I have life-long experience, and I am not one of those people who are indifferent to the fate of nature. Did I understand what I was getting into? Of course. Even my friends told me, seriously, "Fedor, think about it. This post is a whipping boy." Nevertheless, I agreed to take it. Is the "wagon" heavy? I knew that it would be heavy, but I am only now finding out how heavy, since I have been hitched to it.

[Peskov] For some time journalists did not think it was possible to disturb you. The Committee had to worry about putting a roof over its head, to get itself organized, and to get the lay of the land. But now the time has come for this conversation. Just what is Goskompriroda [State Committee on Nature Preservation] today? What is it doing? What are its organizational problems? And what are the first steps in the direction of the cause for which it was established?

[Morgun] The Committee has been in existence for just over six months. It has been able to put a roof over its head. (But I'll tell you the truth, that itself required a lot of time and considerable effort. If only because we had to make our home where we didn't want to. And not because I wanted some kind of special conveniences for the committee. I consider nature preservation a most important cause for the state. And the building itself, the committee's accommodations themselves, should inspire respect among its visitors for its concerns. I thought it of principle importance not to lose this little battle). Our address is 11 Nezhdanovaya Ulitsa, Moscow.

The second important question was defining the structure, and selecting the people. We've been occupied with this since summer. As everyone knows, it's not a simple matter. It is important to staff the apparatus—not with chair-warmers and white-collar workers, with functionaries, to put it simply—but with people who think alike; people devoted to the causes of nature preservation; tenacious and eloquent battlers. Time will tell where we have succeeded and where we've made a slip. As of now we have gathered under the "main roof" about 300 persons out of the 450 required.

The structure of our nature-preservation department is as follows: a national committee, republic committees, and kray and rayon units. In certain places where the

ecological problems are especially severe, city subdivisions will be established. Right now cadre problems are being solved in all links. At the republic level, the largest is the Russian Committee (180 workers in Moscow, and 1,200 throughout the territory of the Federation). From 40 to 60 people will be working at the oblast administrations, and there will be two to three inspectors per rayon.

The question of what kind of people will be made the supervisors of nature-preservation matters is a serious one. Cadre selection is going on in the localities, and there are indications that in certain places they are "fixing up with jobs" people who have no qualifications whatsoever for the new work, except that they were able to cleverly organize the hunt. Can one do much with such people in nature-preservation work? I am calling the local authorities to account, and the public to vigilance: after all, the matter at hand is a serious one.

With the creation of the Committee on Nature Preservation, the corresponding departmental subdivisions were abolished at Gidromet [USSR State Committee on Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control], Minvodkhoz [USSR Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation], Minrybkhkh [USSR Ministry of Fisheries] and so on. Organizational concerns include receiving from the above-named departments the scientific equipment, means of transportation, laboratories, scientific research centers, and game preserves.

At the same time we shall explain the general ecological situation in the country, and shall focus special attention on the sore spots. As you know, there are very, very many of these.

[Peskov] It is enough just to list the symbols—Aral, Baykal, Volga, Ladoga; the disappearance and shoaling of small rivers; air pollution in the cities; food contamination with chemical substances; the breakdown of soils; the disappearance of animals—in order to understand how great the problems are which you and Goskompriroda are facing right off. Only naive people could think that all these "damnable" problems could be solved in a wink. But act we must. What is the committee's strategy?

[Morgun] Questions of strategy on nature preservation were actually determined by the party and government before the committee was established, and are an organic part of perestroika in the political, economic and social spheres. Ecological problems are now deeply acknowledged, and in many situations they are simply crying out. But it is necessary to acknowledge the complexity of their solution as well; for they are a result of the economy and the management which we used to have. The ecological problems can be solved radically only by making profound changes in the system of management. Here I can quote you yourself, and forgive me if I don't do it accurately. In explaining the necessity for establishing a committee on nature preservation, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, I recall, sharply commented: "We are

managing the economy while patching all the holes for the sake of nature. But in all the conflicts and difficulties, it is always nature that is the party that suffers." Well put.

But, for the sake of fairness, one must note that a great deal was built in the terrible years of the war and immediately thereafter, with good intentions of, "We'll fix it later." And "later" in the 15-20 years to come, we were still tearing nature to pieces, and were trying to plug up the gaps from the mismanagement. But it was already clear, that nature would not stand such plundering. No, we had whipped it, like a flogged horse. And what we have now, is what we have.

Ecological policy, to formulate it in brief, must now consist of wide-scale rationalization of all economic activities of the state; correcting the mistakes with respect to nature committed at earlier stages of economic-industrial development; plus, unconditional elimination of the practice of solving economic problems at the expense of nature. While modernizing the nation's economy, we must introduce progressive, nature-sparing, resource-husbanding technology; and we must strive for rational consumption, preserving that which in the hierarchy of all values in life is the most important: clean air, clean water, healthy food and environments for all living things—vegetation, birds, and animals—which have always lived with man on Earth, and without which human life is simply unthinkable. Thus we must all think and take action—from the head of state down to the shepherd. The committee is obligated to stimulate these processes, and to get them onto the right track. Such is the long-term strategy.

[Peskov] But there are also hot spots where you must step in immediately.

[Morgun] There are. And a lot of them. We are cognizant of this. And we intend to act decisively.

[Peskov] But how do you envisage those actions in practical terms? After all, you know how the economic departments used to act, and how they still do act—everyone is "threshing his own grain," and as for the rest, it can go to hell. Is the committee ready for the possibility of war with the narrow-departmental interests?

[Morgun] It is getting ready. But it would be better if it did not come to a large war. Nature preservation is not a matter for our committee alone. A sentry, no matter how vigilant, cannot keep watch over the entire town. Our common task is to reconstruct the economy in such a way that every economic department would itself be both obligated and have an interest in operating without harming nature. We must urge on the economic mechanism for this, in which the "rights of nature" must be given immediate protection; and laws and sanctions must be set up to guard it. Of course not everything in life is so simple as it is in the plans, and we will not be able to avoid conflicts. Not long ago, with respect to a

large new construction project which threatened polluting the air and water, one of the supervisory comrades said, "What's to be done? The child has been born, and he has to have someplace to pee." And I answered him in the same tone: "You'll have find a potty for your son."

The plans now call for a "pot" for everything, both in the planning and in the construction stage. And we will keep track of this vigilantly. The most difficult time is now. There are completed building projects left and right that do not have any purification plants, or with obsolete technologies. But we have "taken inventory," with considerable help from the public. The worst polluters of all are the enterprises of the ministries of power and electrification, the gas industry, the lumber industry, and ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy... In this interview it's impossible to bring out all the figures we have on ecological disasters. But just for example: in 102 cities in the country air pollution on certain days is 10 times higher than the established norms. The allowable rate of pollution is exceeded ten-fold in almost half the controlled water projects. In connection with the pollution of the water and other consequences of economic activities, in the last ten years the catch of valuable fish in internal water reservoirs has declined four-fold. It is tragic that many of the figures had until quite recently been kept secret. Now we know them. And what is to be done? Hang signs everywhere, like on Lake Ladoga? That's unrealistic. Exert the smallest pressure on the manufacturing chain, and undesirable consequences creep in—the lines for laundry detergent is one such vivid example. And everything should be moving in only one direction—toward restoring the purity of both the air, the water and the food. It is a difficult and complex process. And squabbles with economic departments? We've already got them. Certain administrators of the chemical branches, for example, are complaining that it is hard for them to find sites for their new construction projects, and they criticize the organs of Goskompriroda and me personally, for interfering with them. There are no grounds whatsoever for these complaints. We do not stand in opposition to the chemical industry. We understand its importance to the economy very well. But our position is—strive for ecologically-pure technologies. Produce as much good fertilizers and various chemical products as you can, but do not do harm to the environment or to nature. Otherwise you can count on opposition.

But for now it is more important to talk about examples of cooperation. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, for example, has taken a careful and understanding attitude toward our claims. A board has been established at the ministry, dedicated to ecological problems. Directors of the major enterprises are members of the board. I attended one board meeting and I know of its decisions: the allocation of funds for waste purification; establishing at every enterprise its own specialized ecological service—these are steps in the right direction. We expect the very same steps from every department. As one of

the results of perestroika the people want to see decisive measures taken to restore everything that falls under the meaning of the word "nature."

[Peskov] I know that last summer you did a considerable amount of traveling around the country as chairman of the Committee for Nature Preservation. What did you see with your own eyes? What sort of problems struck you in the face, as they say? What did you find most shocking? Were you able to intervene anywhere on an urgent basis?

[Morgun] That's right. You can't see everything from your office. Here is a whole pile of notebooks with notations: Astrakhan, Volgograd, the Kola Peninsula, Donetsk Oblast, Chuvashia, Kazakhstan, Leningrad... My main impression was the critical nature of the accumulated problems. What made a lasting impression? Well, for example, clear-cutting of forests in the North. That is impermissible! A niagara of untreated waste flowing into the Volga. Impermissible! But I was pleased with how Chairman Arkadiy Pavlovich Aydak on Leninskaya Iskra Kolkhoz in Chuvashia was running his farm in an ecologically-enlightened manner: the slopes of the ravines are forested, fertilizer is being used wisely and poisonous chemicals are not used at all; and there are partridges running through the fields, and in the forests—wild boars and deer. And I thought to myself: if only it were like that everywhere! You see, it can be. In Murmansk a plant for processing urban wastes is operating well. But completely untreated sewage is being piped into the sea. The most complex problem is at the Astrakhan gas condensing complex...

I've got a question for you: Have you ever been the lower reaches of the Volga?

[Peskov] Why yes, just this last summer...

[Morgun] Did you see the number of worn-out ships rusting along the banks?... I was shocked by that sight. We dig in the earth, we extract minerals, we refine and smelt the ore. And at the same time we allow to thousands of tons of ready-made metal to rust and trash up the natural environment. They say it's unprofitable and uneconomical to make use of metal; it's easier to make use of ore. There's an example for you of how we are managing things: we are simultaneously laying waste to nature, and filling it up with trash. Without perfecting the economic mechanism we shall not solve such problems.

Where was I forced to intervene on an urgent basis... In Volgograd there is a metallurgical plant called Krasnyy Oktyabr. It was planned and built in the last century; and, it goes without saying, without any kind of purification facilities. Everything pours into the Volga. Petroleum products, 100 times above the norms; particles in suspension, 10 times higher. What a sight. My heart sank. I received a detailed briefing on the work of the plant. Its director, knowing of the "gifts" of Krasnyy Oktyabr to the Volga, walked along side me, his head



hunched down between his shoulders. But having seen what the plant itself consists of, and the severe conditions under which the people work there, I was unable to throw the first stone, neither at the director nor at the working collective. They undertook to construct a water recycling system here at their own expense. There's no such thing as an easy building project. The construction deadlines are not met year after year. We reached agreement with the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy to provide urgent assistance to Krasnyy Oktyabr—and, that means, to the Volga.

[Peskov] But how many other polluters there are on the Volga—the plants at Yaroslavl, Gorkiy, Cheboksary, Kuybyshev, Kazan, Saratov; and is there really only one Krasnyy Oktyabr in Volgograd?

[Morgun] True. We will be paying a little visit to all of them. Right now, you see, the collegium of the committee is working on the question of the ecological situation in Yaroslavl.

[Peskov] The rights of the committee. How far do they extend? Does the committee have the right of veto in case it sees an obvious violation of nature-preservation laws?

[Morgun] The has the right to monitor the behavior of the country's entire economy from the position of nature preservation. The committee utilizes these rights in accordance with laws adopted on nature preservation, and this which are still to be adopted. Upon appropriate expert advice, the committee can place a veto on any project that does not meet nature preservation requirements. Disputes which arise are taken to the USSR Council of Ministers, where the committee presents and defends the "rights of nature."

Especially large project—such as, for example, construction of the Turukhanskaya GES—are necessarily under government scrutiny. In some cases it is possible that the government itself would find it difficult to decide the fate of some project or another; then it is possible to submit the question to nationwide discussion.

The basic concern of Glavgosekspertiza is—an ecological analysis of the plans for the development and disposition of the country's industrial forces, as well as expert analysis of new equipment, technology and materials. The principal goal of these evaluations is to place a reliable barrier before ecologically-harmful technologies and equipment.

[Peskov] Well, and what about that which is already smoking up, poisoning and polluting...

[Morgun] Right, and there is the right of veto here too. In half a year the committee has halted the work, temporarily or for ever, of several industrial enterprises and individual shops: including an anthracene oil plant in Saratov; an electric furnace at the Verkh-Issetkiy Metallurgical Plant (Sverdlovsk Oblast), and a battery of coke

ovens at the Nizhne-Tagil Metallurgical Combine; the carbamide shop at the Vakhsh Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant (Tajik SSR); and part of the manufacturing at the BVK [vitamin-protein concentrate] plant in Angarsk, of which KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA wrote the other day. For violation of technologies or negligence, which caused damage to nature and to the human habitat, about 17,000 workers were brought to administrative liability and 16 persons to criminal liability. Over a six-month period, nature-preservation authorities have exact fines in the amount of 25 million rubles for violation of water legislation.

[Peskov] Fines are nothing new. The question is, where is the money going? Back to the state budget as always? When the creation of the committee was under discussion, the conclusion was reached that at least part of the money from the fines must be placed into a special fund at the committee itself. Has such a fund been established?

[Morgun] The fund has not yet been established per se; there wasn't enough time. But there is no doubt at all on the need for one.

[Peskov] According to the general perception, Goskompriroda is to be the government's principal advisor on matters of ecology. This is a very serious and responsible matter, which requires competence, knowledge, and weighty analysis. On which forces will the committee rely in these matters?

[Morgun] A variety of nature-preservation departments and a large number of scientific centers, laboratories and institutes are being transferred to the committee, including the Moscow Institute on Nature Preservation and Game Preserve Matters. A special institute on informatics is planned, where the most important information on the state of nature in the country will be assembled. Thus, in order to receive the necessary information, we will not have to dig deeply, or send inquiries here and there. A bank of the necessary information will be stored on an electronic computer, and the data base will be updated and expanded. I believe it is also very useful to have information both on where the world has succeeded in nature preservation, and where it has suffered harm. It is especially important to know the latest resource-efficient technologies, which are sparing of nature.

It goes without saying, that we will be working in the closest possible contact with the USSR Academy of Sciences, and with the Committee on Science and Technology.

And perhaps the most important thing is, that a Public Council on Nature Preservation is being established at the committee. Its membership will include scientists who have linked their fate with the preservation of nature, ministers, writers and public figures. They will help the committee to maintain a proper course; will define the most important directions in its work and establish priorities in the solution of various problems.

[Peskov] A question on the normatives, on the permissible limits of contamination of the water, air and foods. Have they been worked out? And if they have, how well are they observed? How well-equipped is the monitoring apparatus? What do we need most of all? I am thinking of an occasion when we were not ashamed to accept international assistance. And they will, I think, willingly render it. Should the committee not take certain steps in this direction?

[Morgun] The normatives are there. But insofar as I have been able to determine, they are not always clear-cut. Quite often they are sparing, not of nature, but of its polluters. There are quite a few instances in which an enterprise is not keeping within the bounds of any normatives whatsoever, and cannot do so. It should either be closed, or modernized on an urgent basis; but it is permitted to continue to blacken the skies "as an exception." So you see, we must take up the struggle with these exceptional cases first of all.

The question on normatives is a most important one. And the most important problem here is the availability of technical equipment. An extensive network of good laboratories is needed, equipped with instruments for rapid analyses—where in a matter of minutes the agent and the extent of contamination of water, air, or food would be made clear; and the cause of death of fish or animals would be identified.

I must frankly state that thus far we have practically no equipment. That which we have inherited from the various departments are mere crumbs. And in terms of quality, they are stone age. We shall approach the Ministry of Instrument Making, but we are already aware of their capabilities. We shall use available funds to purchase equipment from abroad, and we will not turn down assistance, if it is offered. Pollution of the natural environment knows no borders. We are all neighbors on this planet, and we must help one another in preventing and extinguishing fires. Not long ago, during Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow, I established contact with FRG Federal Minister for Environment, Nature Conservation and Reactor Safety Klaus Toepfer. We discussed just such problems, and we agreed to exchange our experiences. And in the near future, we shall send our experts from the Urals, from Kuzbas and Zaporozhye for a period of training in the Ruhr Basin.

[Peskov] What is your attitude toward ecological glasnost?

[Morgun] I am in favor of total glasnost. The long silence about our problems is one of the main reasons for our present shortcomings. Without total glasnost, protection of nature is simply unthinkable.

[Peskov] The preservation of nature will depend to a large extent, if not entirely, on how we manage our economy. Under cost accounting, patching holes and accumulating wealth may once again occur at the expense of nature. A

great deal has already been said about this. What will block an enterprise's attempt to live well at the expense of nature? Do you have a grasp on the key to this problem?

[Morgun] Yes, that is one of the important features of nature preservation. The economic mechanism which has evolved over many years has torn nature to shreds. It was as if it cost nothing. Now, we hope, there will not be such things. Enterprises must structure their cost accounting to include paying for resources—for the water, minerals, lumber, and land. The question of the prices for all this is currently being hashed out. Thus, every attempt to improve one's position or get fat at the expense of nature will be blocked. Punitive sanctions for all kinds of damage to nature will become more severe. But fines are not an end in themselves. They are a means to force the economic administrators to manage their business in such a manner that it would be more advantageous to them not to harm nature than to pay for the damage they cause.

[Peskov] Power engineering is a key question for the nation's economy. But... Hydro-electric power stations are not suitable for plains rivers—fertile floodplains would be inundated; populated places, cultural and historical treasures, minerals, and the river itself, would suffer (the Volga is an example) from regulation of the flow; moreover, fisheries would suffer from barriers to fish migratory routes, and from sharp drops in the water level. But thermal electric power stations are not the answer either—they pollute the air, and cause the demise of forests from acid rain. I have been at the KATEK [Order of Lenin Kuybyshev Plant for Auto-Tractor Electrical Equipment and Carburetors], and I can imagine the consequences, when an entire complex of electric power stations go into operation using the local coals. Atomic power plants... Chernobyl showed their dangers. What shall it be? Which path should we take? What is the position of Goskompriroda on this?

[Morgun] It is a very serious question. Truly there are many problems, many conflicts, many mutually exclusive points of view, and stormy passions. But one thing is clear: it is impossible to live without energy; we cannot return to the luchina [wooden torch]. I believe that our society must carefully think over and weigh all this. A large council is needed, comprised of prominent specialists as well as members of the public. Right now I am will only say what I am prepared to say.

The first thing is—economizing. By economizing on energy in all of its forms, we thereby will save resources and will protect nature from many calamities. It is not only a question of the everyday rule, "Turn out the light when you leave," although we can save a great deal in our everyday life. You probably recall that the Germans have lights in their stairwells that remain on only long enough for one to find one's key and open one's door. On the larger scale, it is a question of conserving energy in industry. We are wasteful. While designing and building enterprises, we hardly ever ask ourselves, "But how

much electrical power will all this require? Would it not be better to select another procedure, or a different technology?" Our industry presently devours so much energy, that there are not enough dams: not enough pipelines, not enough atomic reactors. Is energy conservation realistic? It is. The Western nations, when the prices for petroleum became incandescent, managed to reduce oil consumption by 20-40 percent by virtue of economizing. They conserved assets, and protected nature from contaminating emissions. All this must be considered.

I don't think we have shown enough concern for utilizing the ecologically-pure energy from the wind. I can remember how before the war, there were metal windmills turning in every village, providing electrical power. They used to be a permanent part of the landscape. And then they disappeared. "Why should we spend time with trifles, when we have the Dnepr, the Volga, the Ob and the Yenisey to work for us; when we have at our disposal rivers of oil and the "peaceful atom"?"

And nevertheless we shall have to build large electric power plants. The question is—what kind and where. God himself willed that mountain rivers be used for electric power plants. But as for damming up rivers in the plains, they are fraught with various losses, such that we must think and think before deciding to dam up the course of a river somewhere else yet. Thermal and atomic power stations have their pluses and their major minuses. We must choose rationally, after weighing all the factors on where and what to build. We must look carefully at world experience, and our own.

[Peskov] Now several particular, but it seems, important questions. Not long ago I found out that several dozen beavers on a farm at the Voronezh Nature Preserve had died. Nitrates in their feed (sugar beets from the plantation of an experimental farm) was the suspected cause of death. Nitrates are not good for people either. Many people are now writing and talking about this. But one does not have the feeling that any kind of action is being taken. What is the matter? Is this an inevitable consequence of intensive agriculture—be it cabbage, potatoes, beets or melon crops—with careless use of chemicals, or is it the criminal avarice with which nitrogen fertilizers are used to excess? The question is, what is the way out?

[Morgun] The current world trend is to make maximum use of agro-technical and biological means in the struggle with weeds and harmful insects, and minimum use of poisonous chemicals.

As far as fertilizers are concerned, their rational use poses no threat to foodstuffs. But fertilizers are often used irrationally—a lot is poured out in some places, a little in others, or else they are in generally washed away to the rivers by the rain. There is a tendency, and it is indeed criminally avaricious: to use fertilizers, nitrogen for example, to force a mass of production. The mass

exists, but it's not worth a cent. The products spoil quickly, they don't taste good, and they are dangerous—and, of course, not only for the beavers.

We are striving to wrap up the practice of saturating food products with nitrates; but the monitoring capability we possess, and I've already spoken of this, is still insignificant. One cannot depend on the conscience of the potato, melon and beet-producers. Control is needed! And we are making every effort to implement it.

[Peskov] Water is said to be the most vulnerable part of nature. No matter where man dirties it, it all winds up in a pond, in a lake, or in a river. There is a multitude of polluters. But one of them is especially pernicious, and you know of it well—the swine-raising complexes. Manure from these huge farms is not utilized; it piles up, and sooner or later it winds up in the water, poisoning every living thing in it, and making it dangerous to the health of humans. Do you not think that the committee could—perhaps directly from the fund of which we were speaking—allocate moneys for a special research program which would help untangle this complicated knot?

[Morgun] Vasilii Mikhaylovich, you are pouring salt into the wound. Not long ago I was in my Motherland. I walked up to a pond where I used to swim and fish when I was a lad, and my heart sank. Today the pond is a foul-smelling puddle...

The problem of utilizing the manure from swine-raising complexes is a serious and complex one. It used to be that on a small farm they would haul the manure to the next field, and, all was well: the land would receive organic fertilizer, and the little pond, the lake, and the creek would remain pure. But a large complex accumulates a lot of manure. And although according to the plan it is to be hauled out into the fields, almost no one does so—it's a lot of trouble, and seems like it's not profitable. They pile it up and wait for the rain so that it breaks down and washes away somewhere. Our small streams are being killed wherever there are sugar plants, and these complexes... Together with agroprom we shall be thinking about how to approach this problem, which is not at all a minor one. Perhaps we will announce a contest for the best solution. But the first thing we must do, in my opinion, is to think well before building these huge complexes. And if they have already undertaken construction, then take up the concern of actually utilizing the manure.

[Peskov] Fedor Trofimovich, during your tour of office in Poltava Oblast I witnessed your efforts on introducing plowless cultivation of the land, the main effect of which is soil conservation. I think that this success was not among the least of the reasons for inviting you to accept leadership of the committee. But would not plows have appeared in Poltava without Morgun? And is it realistic to spread the experience of the Poltavites to the other regions of the country?



[Morgun] I am serene about the matter, to which a great deal of effort was devoted during my tour in Poltava. There are still well-educated, intelligent agronomists there, with fine experience in our common struggle both for the harvest and for soil preservation. The plow is the enemy of soil-tillage. They will be used as long as a deficiency in agricultural standards, and as long as we continue to manage ineptly. They turn over the upper layer, they roll over the weeds—and they're satisfied. And the fact that with such cultivation the soils "burn with fire," to that we give little thought. Cultivating the lands with a disc-harrow is, of course, a lot of trouble; here, everything has to be done at the right time, on-time, and without hack-work. But on the other hand, there is a guarantee of a good harvest even under drought conditions; and the main thing, the productive soils are preserved. After all, we are not the last generation on Earth. People will gaze hopefully on the fields after us too. And we must not leave it to our grandchildren and great-grandchildren in a worn-out condition.

Can non-plowing cultivation be adapted to lands anywhere else than Poltava? They are being adapted. Right now non-plow cultivation is being carried out on many farms in Odessa, Nikolaev, Kirovograd, Kharkov, Donetsk, Volgograd, Rostov and Voronezh Oblasts. And very successfully! The harvest is greater there than where the land was worked with a plow. This made me very happy. In my new position I shall continue to support in every way and assist as much as I can, those people who are saving one of our most precious natural assets—the land.

[Peskov] Could you not say a few words about nature preserves, and about ecological upbringing and education? Specifically, how do matters stand with the establishment of the specialized publishing house, Priroda [Nature]? Will the committee have its own newspaper? And how late, in your opinion, were they in creating your committee?

[Morgun] There are 27 nature preserves in the system of Goskompriroda. Several of them are part of a system of biosphere preserves; that is, the most important in the world strategy for nature preservation. I have not yet managed to gain an in-depth understanding of their life, but I have a first impression. The nature preserves require greater attention, as the most valuable of our territories. Their protection is not properly organized everywhere. Scientific activity on the preserves requires more clear-cut orientation. And, of course, we must improve the material situation of the people who are protecting our nature preserves. Wages on nature preserves are simply miserable. I am even ashamed to confer with people about them.

Ecological education and upbringing... I would not want to give short shrift to such a conversation. Let us talk about this somehow separately; it is very important, this talk. There are no laws, no bans, no fines and no punishments that will help us in matters of nature

preservation, if we do not inculcate in man a love for and a wise attitude toward everything that grows, breathes, flies, runs, or crawls. An understanding of nature and a conservationist attitude toward it must become one of the main lessons of one's life, from the time a child sits on his mother's knees until his farewell glimpse of everything that remains on the earth after him. Only under these conditions can we come to an understanding of nature.

[Peskov] Is this a costly thing, the protection of nature?

[Morgun] It is not cheap. But this is all merely payment for all that which man has unthinkingly, greedily and carelessly taken from nature. Do you remember, two weeks ago we were all worried about the fate of three whales which fell into an icy trap? And together with the Americans, we spent nearly two million dollars for their rescue. From the point of view of cold rationalism, this is not sensible, and it is expensive. But this was a special situation, where two states demonstrated their understanding of the value of living nature and their readiness to preserve these values. But what precipitated this position? The extermination of the whales. And now we are preserving the crumbs from nature's plundered cupboard. Payment for everything is inevitable.

If you want to talk about the total bill presented to us by nature, it is very large. Here is one figure. In 1985, the USA's national expenditures for preserving the natural environment amounted to about 80 billion dollars. Billion! But what is to be done? A serious attitude toward nature preservation demands this. And we shall also have to pay. And we cannot brush it off. We are talking about preserving the highest values of life. And the strategy behind such expenditures must recognize that it is many times less expensive to prevent a fire, than it is to extinguish it and then sit in the ashes.

[Peskov] On optimism and pessimism. The problems of ecology in the world today are so acute, that voices are proclaiming that the present civilization with its increasing exhaustion and pollution of nature is digging its own grave. And what can happen, is that—not an atomic bomb, but an ecological bomb can put an end to the dominance of man on the Earth. What do you say to this?

[Morgun] I am by nature an optimist. And my new post requires optimism. But a sober view of the problem nevertheless must say, that if we take no action, the ecological bomb might explode. This is now acknowledged everywhere on the Earth. And I have no doubts, that conscious suicide will not take place; for everyone wants to live in a healthy, bright and clean world. But in order not to deceive ourselves about tomorrow, a very great deal stands to be done in every country and by the entire human race as a whole.

The extent to which we successfully solve our ecological problems will be determined largely by the success or failure of the revolutionary perestroyka of life in our own

home. These problems are almost as acute in other countries as well. Man has come to the dangerous edge of a breach with Nature. The "point of no return" to the chief values of life might be passed unnoticed. In the gleaming paint of an automobile it might simply rush by, and we may come to our senses when it is already too late to acknowledge that the very best drink—is a glass of pure water; that the most delicious dish—is a slice of bread with a crisp, healthy apple; and the best music—the twitter of a swallow flying past. In me there speaks a man of the country; moreover, one who understands by virtue of his age, that in life there are important things and unimportant things. And I want my feelings on the values of life to be passed on to the young people. I want to give them some fatherly advice: "For you to live tomorrow, you must act today!"

### **Pollution Leads to Temporary Shutdown of Zaporozhye Plant**

#### **Ministry Intention to Reopen**

18300154 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by V. Sergeyev: "A Strong Signal: How the Plant Was Closed"]

[Text] Zaporozhye—On 28 October the oblast newspaper INDUSTRIALNOYE ZAPOROZH'YE published a telegram that had been sent to V. Bykov, minister of the medical and microbiological industry of the USSR, by B. Ivanov, chief state sanitation engineer in Zaporozhye, R. Kizym, chief water inspector for Zaporozhye Oblast, and B. Osipenko, chief inspector of the regional inspectorate for preserving air quality. They informed the minister that commencing 10 November the Hydrolytic Yeast Plant, which has polluted the atmosphere for many years, and which turned the once clean Mokraya Moskovka River into a cemetery of organic matter, would be closed.

This enterprise is one of the wonders of our system of economic management. Raw materials, consisting of corn husks and shavings, are brought here from hundreds of miles around; and the finished product, nutrient yeast, is delivered to local agriculture. For some reason, however, the plant discharges fumes at the oblast center. What is the point of having it? For more than 20 years this unprofitable enterprise, where 400 people in all are employed, has been contaminating the lives of people residing in the three major rayons of Zaporozhye.

November 10 arrived, and the Hydrolytic Yeast Plant actually did cease operation. So the city residents can celebrate victory? Not likely. The plant did not close, it only shut down. The ministry made a frantic search for a way to rebuild the plant purification equipment, while the city sanitation services agreed once again to start up the plant as soon as the atmospheric discharge and industrial run-off met the norms.

"Excuse me but—as you know—all this has happened before: both the plant shutdown last year and mountains of promises on paper from the ministry. And the result is, no change for the better. Where is the guarantee that this is not going to happen again?" I asked this question of R. Kizym, the oblast's chief water inspector.

"We will stand like a wall," replied Ruslan Petrovich. "Further compromise is out of the question. If the requirements of the city environmental protection station are not complied with, then it will be necessary to redesign the operation so as to yield an ecologically pure output."

That is the uncompromising position of the ministry, while issuing instructions, incidentally, to resume operations on 25 November—no, not next year, but this or e. Two weeks have been allotted for the entire reconstruction process. They say the enterprise will incur losses valued at 212,000 rubles. But what about nature and the health of the people? The ministry is not much interested in looking into such minor details.

There is one other dimension to this story. The plant was closed in response to the demands of city public opinion. But by whose demands was its closing replaced by another in a series of shutdowns? All the people to whom I addressed this question remained mysteriously silent.

#### **Economic Factors Cited**

18300154 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 3

[PRAVDA correspondent N. Mironov: "The Plant Was Not Closed Suddenly—A Correspondent's Commentary"]

[Text] On 10 November the operation of the Hydrolytic Yeast Plant in Zaporozhye was halted by the regional inspectorate for preserving air quality, the city water inspector, and the chief sanitary engineer.

Although such measures in our country are a rarity, the closing of one enterprise or another does not come about all of a sudden. Such a necessity is resorted to only after all other attempts to correct the situation have been exhausted, and there are no other alternatives.

I recently had a conversation with the former plant director, V. Dzyubayem, who is presently deputy chairman of the party executive committee in Zhovtnevyi Rayon, and who by a whim of fate is responsible for environmental protection. I can attest to the fact that there was indeed an alternative, and the question arises: Why was it not tried?

The story of the Zaporozhye Hydrolytic Yeast Plant is a typical one in this respect, which is worthy of attention and provides food for thought. The plant produced natural nutrient yeast, a valuable source of protein. It yielded as a by-product furfural, which requires oil

refining. Lignin, another waste product, was also partially released in the course of the operation. At first glance, it might seem to be a normal technological process. But only at first glance.

Owing to inadequacy of the equipment, it was not possible to prevent all the furfural derived in the basic production process from being emitted into the atmosphere. Its noxious odor was impossible to endure. Maximum allowable concentrations were being exceeded several times over. The plant's purification equipment could not cope with the run-off water. At first, the Moskovka River, which runs alongside, was converted into a run-off canal. As time went by, however, even a new sewage collector for diverting the run-off into the city purification installation could not save the situation. The system threatened to break down. Moreover, the lignin, which was transported to the dump, did nothing to improve the appearance of the landscape.

But this is only one aspect of what the city dwellers were suffering from. What about the plant itself? Raking in the money with a shovel? Setting aside for the moment the harm that it did to man and nature, what did it accomplish? It was designed, of course, for a noble purpose: to provide the stock-raising industry with a natural protein additive, and thus to increase the meat supply. But an observable increase in the amount of meat in the oblast did not materialize, and the plant itself proved unprofitable in terms of fulfilling the plan. Yeast here has been selling to consumers for 658 rubles per ton, while it has been costing the plant 687 rubles per ton to produce. The technology is too energy intensive. For many years the plant has been operating below capacity, and instead of 11,000 tons a year, it has been manufacturing only 8,000 tons. Even the plan for furfural is underfulfilled. Last year, instead of 250 tons, they managed to produce only 150 tons.

Why is it that deliveries have been so poor if the enterprises are in need of the product?

"To begin with," said Dzyubay, "the plant was developed as a workshop to process sunflower seedpods from a nearby oil-processing combine. But since we are accustomed to planning in terms of what is achieved, seedpod waste was not enough. Shavings were brought here from the world over, and the transportation cost exceeded the value of the raw material. The game was not worth the candle. But for some reason this disturbed no one. The Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry continued to pay the subsidy punctiliously. And it did not even occur to the plant to change the technology. Since the losses were covered by "a rich uncle," why bother?

In sum, there was neither a carrot nor a stick. Moreover, everyone was satisfied. Only the people living in the surrounding area and the organs responsible for supervising sanitation were disturbed about it. And what was

it that disturbed them? Neither tearful nor threatening letters had any effect. But efforts to close down the plant struck them as inexplicable. Obscuring everything else was a slogan: "The People need meat!"

Apparently, this impasse would have continued, how long no one knows, had it not been for the fact that, commencing in January of this year, the enterprise switched to self-financing. The economic noose began slowly to tighten, until a moment arrived when the rich uncle's well ran dry, and the time came to close the plant.

Could this have been done earlier? In theory, yes, but in practice, as you can see, the answer is no, because the main thing was lacking, an unavoidable crash—that scourge for the bankrupt proprietor the world over. One need only have a glimmer of understanding to recall the numerous proposals made to alter the design specifications of the enterprise. It happens that even a plant for producing yeast can be, instead of such an immense monstrosity, compact, and designed on a scale to serve regional kolkhozes. Waste can be recycled, and without harming the environment.

It is a pity that we arrive at such a simple truth with so much difficulty!

#### **Citizens, Stebnik Plant Argue Over Toxic Waste Cleanup Efforts**

18300170a Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
28 Oct 88 p 4

[Report by *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* special correspondent A. Glazovoy under the rubric "Letter Follow-Up Assignment," Lvov Oblast: "Five Years Later"]

[Text] Residents of the village of Pochayevichi have been unable to get a cleanup following the accident at the Stebnik Potash Plant.

This summer it had been 5 years since the dramatic events of the accident at the Stebnik Potash Plant in Lvov Oblast. Toxic solutions flooded out of the plant's waste storage facility as a result of a break in the dam. The Dnestr and dozens of other rivers suffered greatly as a result of the accident, and the water supply for many cities and villages was jeopardized. A great deal has now been written about that tragedy. The subject still requires in-depth study, however, since Stebnik was just one of other, no less stern, warnings of the danger contained in the tangle of ecological problems at the end of the 20th century.

We are bringing it up again because the editors of *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* received a letter from the village of Pochayevichi, not far from Stebnik. Twenty school children asked the newspaper for help. The facts of the matter evoke some distressing thoughts.



On that ill-fated day the residents of Pochayevichi discovered with amazement and alarm that the Tismenitsa River had suddenly overflowed its banks, flooding the area of the village, basements and wells. It was soon learned that some sort of accident had occurred in neighboring Stebnik. Although it was not considered necessary at that time to warn people of the danger contained in the poisoned water, the danger was indicated by the increased frequency of skin irritations in the village. The water itself acquired an ominous, brown coloring, appearing less and less like water....

The alarming information first appeared in documents issued by the Drogobych Sanitation and Epidemiology Station. The content of a number of harmful substances had increased in the well water, making it unsuitable for use and dangerous. Today, O. Bil, chief rayon sanitary inspector, confirms that consumption of the toxic water produces extensive physiological abnormalities and can cause extremely serious illnesses.

A return of normal water is what the residents of Pochayevichi began to demand from the management at the Stebnik plant. This just demand was supported in official documents sent by medical workers to Stebnik, the Drogobychskiy Rayon Ispolkom, the Lvov Oblast Ispolkom and the procurator's offices of the oblast and the rayon. The plant's guilt is apparent and has been demonstrated by numerous analyses. It should therefore assume responsibility for providing water to the victimized village, whose residents have been forced to haul water from afar for several years now.

The plant managers were inspired to oppose the village residents by their high-level bosses in the capital, the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production. A. Vlasenkov, chief of the now abolished ministerial association Soyuzkaliy, signed a somewhat unique document in which he attempted to prove that "the accident at the Stebnik Potash Plant had no effect on water quality in wells in the village of Pochayevichi." This theme was taken up by I. Kovalishin, director of the Stebnik Potash Plant. According to him, the water in Pochayevichi had always been that way. This reminds one of the NCO's famous widow who beat herself.

They say that the village has existed for 300 years. What would have become of the people during those centuries if the director were right? In addition to impressive documents making it obvious who is to blame for the poisoning, the correspondent saw some other evidence. Unfortunately, however, the latter could not be attached to this article as an illustration. It consisted of several metal pieces which had spent a month in one of the village wells. The metal looked as though it had been soaked for a long time in concentrated acid. That is essentially what it was. Solutions like the "water" from Pochayevichi are called an aggressive medium.

Statements to the effect that Stebnik had nothing to do with the village's drama could not stand up to criticism. Medical experts easily proved the plant's guilt by comparing analyses made in previous years with current ones, and the quantity of sulfates, magnesium and chlorides has increased many times over. The matter was cinched by the Kaluga Branch of the All-Union Scientific Research and Design Institute of Halurgy, which stated that the Stebnik Potash Plant was the culprit in the poisoning of Pochayevichi's water.

The verdict was announced but nothing happened, despite the growing number of complaints by the residents and despite repeated warnings to the plant from state establishments and services. The plant did express its willingness to build a waterline, to be sure. In a letter sent to the rayon ispolkom Director I. Kovalishin promised to order the plan, allocate the funds, and so forth by the end of 1987.

A talk with the director revealed that nothing has been done. I. Kovalishin did launch into an abstract story about how the plant could not reach agreement with the Drogobych Water Canal regarding the waterline.

Indeed, the exchange of paperwork fire between the plant director and I. Dubkov, chief of the Drogobych Administration of Waterlines and Sewage Facilities, could serve as a real foundation for a satirical article on a typical bureaucratic muddle in which those in charge fight while nothing gets done. I am afraid only that a satirical article in a situation in which the residents of a large village have for the 5th year been forced to choose between using their own poisoned water or seeking water on the other side of the earth would sound like an anecdote at a funeral.

In order to mitigate the situation somehow, the plant director proposed a "bold" plan: "You villagers build the waterline yourself! We will provide the pipe and the excavator, and you can do the rest. That will take care of it...."

"Drowning people have to save themselves...." There was obviously a reason why representatives of the plant administration who came to investigate Pochayevichi wished to remain anonymous. They were still ambushed by the local residents, however, and forced to say when the pipeline would be built. One of the secretive visitors cleared his throat meaningfully and said: "More than one winter will go by." What was this? Sick humor?

"There are no two ways about it," I was told by M. Kirey, chairman of the Lvov Oblast Ispolkom. "The Stebnik plant is entirely to blame for the situation, and it must provide the Pochayevichi residents with pure water. The director's suggestion that they 'build on their own' does not sound serious, to say the least, and the same can be said for complaints about the intransigence of the city water canal administration. The plant can and must resolve the problem of the waterline."

The people in Pochayevichi are tired of waiting for charity from the plant. It is a pity that I. Kovalishin, the plant director, did not attend a meeting with residents of the village at which many justified statements were leveled at the plant and at him. The people came close to blaming the plant management for the accident as they told about their sick children and dead livestock.

One other important fact should be mentioned. The village residents are coming to their own defense by sending off letters and demands. They are supported, as I said, in Drogobych and Lvov. A deathly silence is being maintained only... by their own rural soviet. It is as though the soviet is not concerned about the village's tragedy, just as it is not concerned about the destroyed bridge which has isolated Pochayevichi or the absence of elementary roads in the village, which forces the Pochayevichi children to slog several kilometers through the mud to school.

The landscape around Pochayevichi reminds one of the gloomy paintings of Brueghel. Carrion crows perch grimly on the black skeletons of trees where the Stebnik wave passed 5 years ago. Nearby, on the bank of the Tismenitsa, an enormous bonfire emits a thick cloud of fuel-oil smoke. Local enterprises are disobeying the ban and burning their waste. And quite nearby, as a warning to those who have still not drawn conclusions from the bitter lessons of the recent past, stand overflowing tanks belonging to the Drogobych Petroleum Refinery. They contain 140,000 cubic meters of acid sludge. Sulphuric acid comprises 70 percent of the solution.

#### **Professor Blasts Volga-Chogray Canal, Other Water Projects in Kalmykia**

18300170b Moscow IZVESTIYA in: Russian 25 Nov 88  
p 2

[Interview with Professor Boris Vinogradov by Kim Smirnov: "A View of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources From Space"]

[Text] This man is called the father of Soviet space-based geography. Not a bad addition to the title of Doctor of Geographic Sciences and the position of head of a working group on aerospace methods under UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere program. You would agree that one does not encounter very frequently today a person afforded the honor of being the founder of a new science. His monograph is a mine of both ideas and documentary information about how the face of the planet has changed in recent decades, how forests and pastureland are disappearing and the desert is advancing. Precisely because of this, however, his life is far removed from Olympian tranquility. He studies photographs taken from space and is constantly intervening in ecological battles on Earth. And this intervention has certainly not always been void of danger for him. For example, photographs taken from space have shown that a considerable difference has recently developed between the field areas shown on maps and space photo interpretations. Photographs have shown

that crop rotations have often been violated, with all areas planted to wheat alone. Some "well-wishers" have advised the scientist to hide these photographs as far away as possible. He has not done so, however.

My interview is with Professor Boris Vinogradov.

[Smirnov] Boris Veniaminovich, why are you so strongly, even passionately, against the Volga-Chogray Canal?

[Vinogradov] Passionately? Yes, I do indeed love the land of Kalymkia and its people. I know it not just from space photos. I have traveled the steppes here and talked with many people face to face. I am convinced that this much-suffering land deserves more careful, thrifty and prudent handling than it has received until now and than is provided by Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] in the case of the Volga-Chogray Canal.

I do not speak out against the canal and support the position stated by the two corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences D. Pavlov and A. Yablokov (IZVESTIYA, No. 242, 1988) out of personal feelings, however. The objective scientific data simply demand this of any respectable specialist or scientist. For 34 years now I myself have studied the processes occurring in Kalmykia, and am still doing so today. I take complete responsibility in stating that the desertification and deterioration of its territory are the results of mismanagement and in some cases, incompetence on the part of those in charge.

Construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal is one of the causes. It cannot solve a single one of Kalmykia's problems. More than that, the canal will exacerbate the problems. The land will become saline and turn into swamp, and Europe's largest saline desert will be added to Europe's largest sandy desert.

The problem will not affect the Volga and Kalmykia alone. The chernozem will begin to become saline three or four seasons after this water arrives in the Stavropol area (and the bulk of the water is designated for there), after three or four increased harvests. A total of 1 million hectares of improved land was written off just prior to the 19th party conference, a fact pointed out in one of the speeches. How far can this go?!

[Smirnov] You make reference to party conference material and to data which have long been common knowledge. But what do the data you have gathered indicate? What is the true picture today from space orbit?

[Vinogradov] It is sad. In my aerospace monitoring and research of the environment I constantly encounter the traces of Minvodkhoz's destructive activities. Two irrigation systems in Kalmykia itself have not been brought up to their promised capacity. At the will of the hydraulic engineers, the Sarpinskaya system was built along a

different route, which caused salinization of the soil. Fifteen types of charts prepared to justify the construction on a specific territory were wasted. This willfulness and absolute impunity inspired Minvodkhoz, and no scientifically based soil improvement research was performed at all for the construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal.

[Smirnov] I know that you were a member of the two next-to-last expert groups assessing the Volga-Chogray Canal: that of the USSR Academy of Sciences and VASKhNIL [Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin] and then the USSR Gosplan group. How did it happen that such prestigious experts overlooked such important facts?

[Vinogradov] Well, they did not overlook them. Members of the first commission, in which I participated, literally revolted against the construction of the canal. It was clear at the second commission's second session that the majority of experts (five groups out of nine) would also vote against the canal. A third commission was set up. How long could this go on? Would it not be until, by hook or by crook, approval was tortured through? And in general, who is still giving such uncontrolled power to the current Minvodkhoz leadership?

But these are just surface matters. There are far more serious ones. Why were the expert commissions set up when construction of the canal was already in full swing? Why does the independent expert commission, announced back in January by a party and government decree on the restructuring of environmental protection in the nation, still exist? Why are recommendations for improving and completing unsuitable projects extracted from the expert commissions, even though it is the purpose of any expert commission to state whether such projects conform not just to world standards, but to basic engineering and technological standards?

The experts must say "yes" or "no." If it is "no," then it becomes the concern of those who try to pass off slightly spoiled goods for fresh ones, a matter of how they have reached this point in life and how they can continue to exist.

[Smirnov] But are there individuals, collectives and organizations today who can assume full responsibility for that "yes" or "no"?

[Vinogradov] I personally accept this responsibility and say a firm "no"! The situation is extremely complicated in general. And do you know why? You recently told about an extremely interesting initiative, the first All-Union social commission of experts on the shores of Baykal. And these expert assessments on any resolution or any project must be made *before* and not *after* it is approved. The entire social struggle now developing around the Volga-Chogray Canal project should have

taken place far earlier. And until it is finished, not a single ruble should be invested in the project and not a single worker should show up on the proposed route.

[Smirnov] The outcome could still be an improved and refined project of Minvodkhoz!

[Vinogradov] That is what it is counting on. You will come to us with cap in hand anyway, they believe; there is no one else. The matter does indeed have to be resolved!

[Smirnov] Is there in fact no one else?

[Vinogradov] There is. An alternative to the canal was proposed by the second expert commission, of which I was a member. It was not even reviewed, however.

[Smirnov] The weakness of many of our alternatives lies in the fact that both the funds and the specialized institutions are on the side of the monopolistic, departmental "stockholders," whose wings are too transparent and who stand on too shaky soil.

[Vinogradov] In this case I am talking about powerful wings and firm ground. Workers at the Institute of Evolutionary Morphology and Ecology of Animals of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Feed Institute of the USSR State Agroindustrial Complex, VASKhNIL's Institute of Agriculture, Forestry and Land Reclamation and the Yuzhgiprozem institute of the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Complex have advanced a concept of agricultural land reclamation as an alternative to the hydraulic engineering project. It is based on a general plan for combatting the desertification of the chernozem and the Kizlyar pastureland worked out by the Yuzhgiprozem institute back in 1986 but still not financed by the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Complex. Just what is being proposed?

First of all, we must bring the number of livestock in Kalmykia into conformity with the size and handling capacity of the pastureland. The herd is now almost twice the norm, and use of the pasturage is almost 4-5 times the norm. Studies conducted over many years have shown that the optimal sheep herd in Kalmykia would be around 2 million head. Furthermore, reducing the herd would not mean reducing output. In 1913, for example, 900,000 sheep produced more than 25 kilograms of meat each, while 3.7 million produced only 8-10 kilograms each in 1985. An increase in the herd size therefore does not necessarily increase the total output.

The second thing which should be done immediately is to eliminate unregistered herds in Kalmykia and halt the pasturing of livestock brought in from other republics and regions. Selective aerial photography and inspections by the republic People's Control Committee in 1983-1986 showed that at certain spots unregistered herds amounted to double (sometimes 20 times!) the size of the official statistical data.



The third thing proposed in the alternative project is the establishment of sectional pasturage rotation and the fencing of pastures. The application of scientific based sectional pasturage rotation could restore the pastureland within a period of 3-5 years, at least in the low-lying areas of the republic. And these are not just words. In the Sudan and Mali, where pastures have been fenced and sectional pasturage rotation has been introduced, the pastures have been restored in 2-6 years.

I have enumerated far from all of the points. In general, however, the agricultural land reclamation concept for restoring Kalmykia's pastureland is technologically more feasible, ecologically safer and socially more beneficial.

[Smirnov] You forgot about the main thing which started it all, economic effectiveness.

[Vinogradov] The project for the agricultural reclamation battle against desertification will cost around 450 million rubles. The cost of the hydraulic engineering project is snowballing, however, with each new expert assessment. At the end of last year the cost of the Volga-Chogray Canal was set 1.9 billion rubles. It was 2.6 billion following the expert assessment by the USSR Academy of Sciences and VASKhNIL, and 3 billion at the beginning of the expert assessment by the USSR Gosplan.

[Smirnov] And how does Minvudkhoz regard the alternative plan in view of all this?

[Vinogradov] You know, it even agrees to the plan's implementation on the condition that a canal also be built. What one won't do for a beloved offspring! The construction of a canal will not only not contribute to the implementation of the general plan for combatting desertification, however, but will actually leave no room for it, since 2 million hectares of land will be put out of use and will deteriorate as a result. This will result in a loss of potential output of the pastureland which is triple the projected output from the irrigated land.

The main thing, however, is that the general plan is proposed as an alternative which rules out a canal. If a canal is built, the pastureland will not be restored. If the general plan for combatting desertification is implemented, then why a canal in Kalmykia? It will not provide drinking water meeting the sanitation standards. The land will become saline. Incidentally, the chernozem in the Stavropol area cannot be irrigated with this kind of mineralized water. The land will deteriorate after 3 or 4 years of irrigation.

[Smirnov] The alternative concept is attractive. But what are the real steps to be taken toward its implementation?

[Vinogradov] The steps must be decisive. Work on the Volga-Chogray Canal must be halted, and the funds allocated for this should be turned over by the RSFSR Minvudkhoz to the RSFSR Agroindustrial Complex for

implementing the alternative plan for restoring Kalmykia's pastureland. With respect to the agricultural reclamation of the republic's pastureland a canal is not simply not needed; it will be actually harmful, since it will result in large losses of natural forage land, a drastic deterioration of the ecological situation and the diversion of forces and funds away from truly needed and effective plans for Kalmykia's agricultural and social development. This is the crux of the matter, and not the "tug of war" over individual figures or target dates. The main question which now has to be answered is not even how much what will cost. What will remain of Kalmykia if the canal is built? Furthermore, what will remain of Russia if there is no Volga? That is the issue.

#### **Soviet Eskimos Invited to International Conference**

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[Article by Lyudmila Panyushkina: "Inuits Plan Summer Conference"; first two paragraphs MOSCOW NEWS introduction]

[Text] Next summer Sisimiut, Greenland, will be the venue for the next General Assembly of the International Inuit Circumpolar Conference, ICC (Inuits being the name Eskimos call themselves).

For the first time, a delegation of Soviet Eskimos will participate, as an observer, in the work of the General Assembly, that organization's highest body.

Since its foundation in 1977, the ICC has been representing Inuits living in Alaska, Northern Canada and Greenland and has symbolically reserved places for Soviet Eskimos at each of its meetings, as if inviting them to join in.

In 1983 the UN Economic and Social Council voted to give the ICC the status of a non-governmental organization. Today it represents 104,000 Eskimos (30,000 living in Alaska, USA; 30,000 in Canada; 42,000 in Greenland, and between 1,500 and 1,900 in the Soviet Union's Magadan Region and Chukchi Autonomous Area).

What was the reason for the change in heart? Why will a delegation of Soviet Eskimos be travelling to this international forum? At the 2nd European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR I was told that the ICC has increasingly been placing, among its priorities, issues of peace and a reduction of tensions, a boosting of trust between the great powers, and a prevention of any militarization of the Arctic. Other priorities include the promotion of long-term plans for the protection of the environment in the arctic and subarctic zones, wise use of the zones' unrenowned resources and the development of cooperation in the humanitarian and cultural fields. All that is consonant with the objectives put forward by the Soviet Union.

The cautious attitude towards non-governmental organizations which was felt during the past years is now giving way to a more flexible Soviet approach towards cooperation in general and the development of human contacts. The reserved attitude of our local authorities could also be explained by the existence of problems posed by the social and economic development of those regions populated by Soviet Eskimos, as well as by the fact that those regions are largely closed to foreigners. However, the situation is changing for the better also in this field. In the first half of August, an ICC delegation, headed by its President, Mary Simon, visited the USSR on the invitation from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. In travelling through the city of Anadyr, and Provideniye, Novoye Chaplino, and Sireniki settlements, the guests saw how Soviet Eskimos live.

Contacts such as exchanges of folk ensembles and folk art exhibitions between Soviet Eskimos and those in other countries have been developing for a long time. The fact that ethnically very close people live on both sides of the Bering Strait is also of importance. In the past, they practically had no opportunity to meet.

There's yet another snag slowing further development of contacts between Eskimos of the USSR and other countries. A technical one. For example, a folk ensemble from the settlement of Novoye Chaplino receives an invitation to visit Canada. They will have to fly to Anadyr, then to Magadan, then to Moscow, from Moscow to Copenhagen, and from Copenhagen to the specified Eskimo centre in Canada. The return trip is the same, only in reverse. Such long-distance travel over 35,000 kilometres lasts for nearly two days although a direct flight from Anadyr to Canada takes only one and a half to two hours. A practical solution to the problem will require the goodwill of the sides and their readiness to search for mutually understandable solutions. Thus, a delegation of American Eskimos from Alaska has already made a "hop" from their country to the Soviet Union, with the permission of the Soviet side.

These initial steps towards increasing contacts between Eskimos are all the more important since they represent a constituent part of Soviet-US relations. Both sides at the Soviet-American Moscow summit expressed their support for the development of contacts between the indigenous people of the Soviet North and Alaska.

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